

# *Annals of Wyoming*

## *Spring, 1972*



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ANNALS OF WYOMING

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# *Annals of Wyoming*

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This year marks the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Yellowstone National Park as the world's first national park. In recognition of the Park's centennial, the editors felt it appropriate to devote the photographs in this issue to scenes related to the Park. The 12 photographs in this issue, including the cover picture "Yellowstone Falls," are from the Joseph E. Stimson Photo Collection of the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

# *Sixty Days To and In Yellowstone Park*

*By*

HENRY A. KIRK

(1836 - 1904)

Edited by Daniel Y. Meschter

There are many accounts of tours to and through Yellowstone National Park ranging from penciled inscriptions on the backs of picture postcards to scholarly treatises by world-famous naturalists bound in thick books. Among the more appealing, although by no means scientific, accounts are those by ordinary residents of states adjacent to the Park who made their pilgrimage by team and wagon. Most of these accounts simply were told and retold until memories faded and the lives of the travelers were fulfilled and their stories lost. A few have been preserved in print. This is one of them.

In the summer of 1892, Henry A. Kirk, his sons-in-law Isaac C. Miller and Amades Startzell, and their families traveled northwesterly across the state of Wyoming from Rawlins to Cooke City, Montana, at the northeast corner of Yellowstone National Park, through the Park, south through eastern Idaho and the Bear River Valley in western Wyoming, and back to Rawlins across the southern part of the state, all by horse and wagon. In all, the whole trip almost certainly exceeded 1000 miles across many areas which were just then beginning to be settled.

Kirk's account of the trip is preserved in five letters which he wrote to the *Carbon County Journal* in Rawlins during the trip. In his letters he makes several references to a journal he was keeping; but this apparently was not preserved.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the Kirk letters is his description of the journey to the Park. Like many another non-professional writer, he seems to have been so overwhelmed by the scenic grandeur of the scenery just before entering the Park and in the Park itself that his pen failed him. And like many another diarist, his enthusiasm for writing wanes with each succeeding letter so that the first letters are the most detailed.

Significant to Wyoming historians is the fact that each of the three heads of families individually was an authentic Wyoming pioneer. Contrasted, these three men demonstrate the diverse

backgrounds of the men who settled Wyoming early and gave the state its distinctive characteristics.

Henry A. Kirk<sup>1</sup> (sometimes referred to as Albert H. Kirk) was born on June 1, 1836, in Galena, a small town in central Ohio north of Columbus. Details of his early education have not been documented, but it must have taken him through elementary school and quite possibly secondary school as well. As a young man of 17 or 18 he located in Indiana where he married Mary E. Parrish in 1855. To this marriage were born two daughters: Ada on August 26, 1856, and Alta Evelyn in August, 1861. It is possible that he was associated in farming with his father-in-law in Steuben County, Indiana, during this time.<sup>2</sup> He returned to Ohio during the Civil War and served in Co. K, 185th Ohio Infantry for 20 months from February, 1864, until October, 1865.<sup>3</sup>

Mary Parrish Kirk died in 1867 and he shortly thereafter married Alma M. Parrish, who in all likelihood was his first wife's sister. To this marriage were born two more children: Zoa in August, 1868, and Boyd A. on March 2, 1870—both in Indiana.

Kirk was lured to the west in 1871. There is some evidence that he went first to Boise, Idaho; but if so, he soon returned to Fort Steele, Wyoming, about six miles east of Rawlins, where he began work for the Union Pacific Railroad as a section hand and boarding house master. Sometime in the winter of 1871-1872 he moved to Rawlins where he taught for three and one-half years.

Like many another young man seeking his fortune in early Wyoming, Kirk tried to take advantage of other opportunities. In late 1873 he opened the Rawlins House Hotel<sup>4</sup> in Rawlins and also attempted the practice of law<sup>5</sup>. However, he failed in both of these enterprises. First he failed of admission to the bar<sup>6</sup> and then lost the hotel when the mortgage was foreclosed in 1875.<sup>7</sup>

From 1875 to 1880 he taught school at Hilliard in the western part of the Territory. Unsettled for a few years after this, he

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1. Biographical sketch of H. A. Kirk derived from: 1880 Decennial Census, Hilliard, Uinta County, Wyoming; Kirk-Startzell monuments, Rawlins Cemetery, Rawlins, Wyoming; Wilkerson Biographies, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Obit., Boyd Kirk, *Laramie Boomerang*, September 30, 1902; Obit., Henry A. Kirk, *Carbon County Journal*, August 13, 1904; Obit., Zoa Kirk Eson, *Rawlins Republican*, July 23, 1925; Obit., Alma N. Kirk, *Rawlins Republican*, May 28, 1931.

2. Obit., A. N. Parrish, *Carbon County Journal*, January 21, 1882.

3. Special Census of Civil War Veterans, 1890, Rawlins, Carbon County, Wyoming.

4. *Laramie Daily Independent*, October 6, 1873; October 11, 1873; October 28, 1873.

5. *Laramie Daily Independent*, October 22, 1873; November 5, 1873.

6. *Laramie Daily Independent*, December 6, 1873.

7. *Laramie Daily Sentinel*, April 6, 1875; *Laramie Daily Sun*, May 17, 1875.

clerked in freight offices at Piedmont, Wyoming, and Silver Bow, Montana, and then returned to Rawlins where he was the jailer for about eight months in 1882. At last, in 1883, he took up 320 acres of land around a spring a couple of miles northeast of Rawlins and for a number of years engaged in the dairy business.

Throughout his life in Wyoming he was a frequent letter writer, discussing current topics of interest or describing occasional trips in the press. He often was the Fourth of July speaker and was active in G.A.R. affairs.

By contrast, Isaac C. Miller was foreign-born.<sup>8</sup> He was a native of Denmark where he was born in 1844 and emigrated to the United States in 1864. In 1868 he followed the Union Pacific Railroad west to Bitter Creek and then back to Rawlins where he was a store clerk. During the next decade he tried gold mining at Hahn's Peak, Colorado, became a liquor dealer, was a partner in a meat market<sup>9</sup>, and owned a saddle and harness business.<sup>10</sup> In 1880 and again in 1882 he was elected to consecutive terms as Carbon County sheriff.

His most important effort, however, was an association with J. J. Hurt, later of Natrona County, in the sheep raising business. This was an early recognition of the suitability of the dry Wyoming prairies for sheep and from this beginning the Miller family built one of the outstanding ranch operations in Wyoming.

In 1874 Miller married Ada Kirk, the eldest daughter of Henry A. Kirk. Altogether they had seven children.

Amandes Startzell had a more humble background.<sup>11</sup> He was born on January 6, 1848, in Jefferson County, Pennsylvania, one of 13 children of Swedish parents. Nothing more is known of him until his enlistment in Philadelphia on August 28, 1876, in Company E of the Third U. S. Cavalry. However, it is not difficult to imagine that being one of 13 children in rural Pennsylvania did not offer many opportunities for either education or material improvement.

With the Third Cavalry he served at several posts in Wyoming.

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8. Biographical sketch of Isaac C. Miller derived from: 1870 and 1880 Decennial Census records, Rawlins, Carbon County, Wyoming; Marriage record, Carbon County, Wyoming, February 7, 1874; Obit., Ada Kirk Miller, *Rawlins Republican*, May 8, 1909; Obit., I. C. Miller, *Rawlins Republican*, June 6, 1912, *Carbon County Journal*, June 7, 1912.

9. *Carbon County Journal*, October 2, 1886.

10. *Carbon County Journal*, July 14, 1883.

11. Biographical sketch of Amandes Startzell derived from: 1880 Decennial Census, Fort Steele, Carbon County, Wyoming; Kirk-Startzell monuments, Rawlins Cemetery, Rawlins Wyoming; Muster Roll, Co. E, 3rd. U. S. Cavalry, National Archives and Records Center, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C.; Marriage records, Carbon County, Wyoming, April 3, 1890; Obit., Amandes Startzell, *Rawlins Republican-Bulletin*, May 28, 1938.

In September, 1879, Company E was assigned to the White River Expedition under the command of Major T. T. Thornburgh.<sup>12</sup> Attacked by Ute Indians at Milk Creek, Colorado, and the commanding officer killed during the initial onslaught, the expeditionary force lay under siege for six days until rescued by relief forces summoned by courier. While the battle itself may not have had great military significance, the events of which it was a part shortly led to the removal of the Utes from northwestern Colorado and the opening of that area to settlement by white Americans.

Startzell was a carpenter by trade, but performed the duties of a saddler in the cavalry. After his discharge, he settled in Rawlins and engaged in the mercantile business for many years. In 1890 he married Alta Evelyn Kirk Holt, the widowed second daughter of Henry Kirk.<sup>13</sup>

It should be remembered that Kirk was writing for readers to whom he and his trip were well enough known so that he could pass over some details and explanations. Although he states in the first letter that the party included 17 people in no place does he bother to list them. In the text of the letters he specifically identifies only Ike Miller, Boyd Kirk, Boyd's mother (Mrs. Kirk), Mamie (Miller), and Charley Schroeder (the cook). "Dasch" is obviously a nickname, possibly for Boyd Kirk, and equally possible for some other men in the party. N. E. Heckenlively may have been some friend of one of the families; but its being a possible rendering of "heck-and-lively", again perhaps referring to Boyd Kirk, suggests a certain lack of authenticity. In addition to the five named, it is a safe inference that the party included Amandes and Alta Kirk Startzell, Ada Kirk Miller, Zoa Kirk, Henry Kirk himself, three or four of the older Miller children, and perhaps two or three hired men to help the cook and to drive one or more of the four wagons used.

### FIRST LETTER

(*Carbon County Journal*, Saturday, July 31, 1892)

Wind River, Wyo., July 17—In accord with my promise, I will try to write you a few lines from this point of our journey, and to start with, I may say, by way of explanation, that for more than a year past the Miller, Startzell and Kirk families have, when together, been planning and calculating a trip to the national park and, after various delays, Thursday, July 7, at 3 o'clock p.m., we rolled the outfit, consisting of seventeen persons, a horse for each, a mess wagon, a baggage and grain wagon and two excursion spring wagons, out of Rawlins, camping that night at Bell Springs. The numerous delays in Rawlins, although vexatious, proved in the outcome to be very fortunate to us, as we had only time to pitch our tents and eat our supper when we

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12. For a fuller account of the White River Expedition see Sprague, Marshall, *Massacre, the Tragedy at White River*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957)

13. Obit., J. C. Holt, *Carbon County Journal*, July 24, 1886.

were glad to betake ourselves to the tents, as a heavy thunder shower was upon us, which continued to pour until 2 o'clock next morning. This storm has been the only deterring event in our journey thus far.

There would have been no need for an earlier start to reach Bell Springs, about 15 miles north of Rawlins. Long hours of daylight during July would have given sufficient light to make camp and there was no reason to go further since the next suitable camping place was a full day journey, at their pace, beyond Bell Springs.

The storm originated in the Sweetwater and Owl creek ranges of mountains, and in its advance burst into four separate and distinct waterspouts, the track of each being plainly marked by the rise of streams, filling of alkali ponds, mud, etc.

Kirk is stretching a point in his reference to the Owl Creek Mountains which are about 100 miles beyond the Sweetwater Mountains and well out of his sight. The Sweetwater Mountains, including elevations now better known as Green Mountain, Crooks Mountain, and Whiskey Peak, were well within his vision although still 30 or 40 miles away. Summer storms across Separation Flats between the north end of the Rawlins Hills where Bell Springs is located and the Sweetwater Mountains, although infrequent, are known to be especially violent. Many dried-up ponds in the Separation Flats are crusted with white salt or soda during dry weather.

The morning of the 8th, at 4:30 saw our camp astir, and at 6 o'clock our tents were struck and we were upon the way. About 8 o'clock we began to enter the track of the storm proper, and all the rest of the day we wallowed through mud and water. We saw immense herds of antelope which had been driven down from the hills by the storm, but they were too distant for a shot and the ground was too soft for our hunters to go after them on horses. Soon after passing Bull Spring more and more evidences of the severity of the storm were seen: grass, weeds and bushes were washed out by the roots, rivers of water were running in the roads, and in one place twelve telegraph poles in succession were either prostrated or the tops all knocked to pieces by lightening, and splinters from the poles were scattered all over the prairie for rods around. You may well imagine that we thanked our lucky stars we were encamped only upon the edge of the storm.

Bull Spring is on the old Rawlins to Lander wagon road a few miles west of the present highway. A dry lake nearby called Bull Spring Lake was later mined for a thick crust of soda and salt which had evaporated in the bed of the lake.

Tonight we camped at Lost Soldier. The tops of the mountains all around were covered with newly fallen snow, and all our blankets were brought into requisition. We pitched camp at 2 o'clock p.m. and in the evening we climbed to the top of an adjoining hill and witnessed the most gorgeous sunset I ever saw. The mountains being covered with snow, the declining sun clothed them in a magnificent cast of silver sheen, and in an hour after, the moon being at full, she tried her hardest to create in her rise the beauty left by the sun.

Lost Soldier was a stage stop on the Rawlins-Lander stage line and the first good camping place north of Bell Springs.

July 9th. we struck camp early and at 6:30 were again on the go, passing along the base of Green mountain, a beauty, and took our noonday meal on the site of the burnt-out O'Neil ranch, scarcely a trace of which remains. At 3 o'clock p.m. we pulled out for Signor's where upon the bank of Sweetwater we camped, having passed the afternoon within sight of Split Rock and the scene of the Averell and Ella Watson hanging. At this place we killed our first mess of sage chickens.

Kirk mentions a number of well known places and events in this short résumé of the approximately 40 miles traveled on July 9. The Rawlins-Lander wagon road from Lost Soldier passed along the south side of Green Mountain to a stage station at the south end of a gap—Crooks Gap—through the mountain. The route can be followed over dirt and graveled roads. The O'Neil Ranch refers to a homestead along the creek in the gap attempted in 1885 by Arthur O'Neil, an English boilermaker who worked for the railroad in Rawlins in the early 1880s.<sup>14</sup> The circumstance of its burning is not known. From the north end of the gap the road crossed level plains to the road ranch run by Eli Signor near where the Lander wagon road crossed the Oregon Trail. Split Rock, a famous Oregon Trail landmark, is easily visible from near Signor's. The postoffice at Signor's was known as Rongis, or Signor spelled backwards. Again Kirk may have stretched things a bit by referring to the scene of the Averell-Watson hanging which took place beyond Split Rock to the east from his vantage point and well out of sight.<sup>15</sup>

Sunday, July 10th. we pitched our camp just at the south line of 'Buck' Taylor's ranch, which, by the way, used to be the Brooks & Carrington ranch, and 'Buck' was early in camp with a number of ponies, eager for a sale or trade. Dasch bought of him a fine chestnut sorrel. We moved only up to the bridge today, and had the company of Mr. E. T. Payton of the Cheyenne Leader, who remained with us until we pulled out Monday morning.

The distance from Signor's to the site of the Brooks & Carrington Ranch was about six miles. Kirk implies that the party camped there on the night of July 9 rather than at Signor's which may be accounted for by the fact that Signor's was on the north side of the Sweetwater River while the wagon road was still on the south. The

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14. 1880 Decennial Census, Rawlins, Carbon County, Wyoming. A very dim notation in the original General Land Office tract book for Sections 7, 8, 17, and 18, Township 28 North, Range 92 West identifies the location and dates O'Neil's applications as May 22 and December 2, 1885.

15. For a fuller treatment of the Averell-Watson lynching set in its historically important context see Smith, Helena H., *The War on Powder River*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966)

distance from Taylor's to the Sweetwater Bridge traveled on the 10th was about nine miles.

E. T. Payton was a correspondent for the *Cheyenne Leader*. He made a long trip through Wyoming during the summer of 1892 writing observations of local affairs which were printed in the *Leader* two or three times a week. He fails to mention meeting the Kirk party, but describes Buck Taylor as a former wild west show performer.<sup>16</sup>

July 11th. we started for the Murphy oil wells, which we reached at 3 p.m., and found that the Hon. Mike had gone to Lander to attend court. We were much disappointed at not being greeted with his familiar chuckle, but concluded to while away the time as best we could without him listening to the song of the myriads of mosquitoes. But Judge Knight and Mr. Dodge had passed us at Lost Soldier and they had told him in Lander, and at sunset we were aroused from our lethargic ruminations, induced by our first mess of trout, by his hearty guffaw, and from that until 10 o'clock at night Ike's gentle murmur and Mike's musical titter were heard echoing among the hills and along the banks of the Little Popo Agie. The oil wells have often been written up by abler pens than mine, but the half has not been told, and sight alone can only tell it, so I will only say that thousands of barrels of oil are standing there in pools, lakes and old river beds, awaiting only transportation, when Mike Murphy and his associates can count themselves millionaires. Mike would hear no word of our going on next day, and we were not averse to stopping, so that July 12th. was passed in viewing the sight of spouting oil wells, fishing in the Little Popo Agie, taking 'Kodak' visiting with Mike, looking his garden oe'r, and also visiting with his nearest neighbor down the river, whom we knew sixteen years ago in the western part of the state, W. B. Trosper by name, and upon whose ranch Payton locates the Murphy oil wells. Payton may well be excused though, for mixing things a little, as his sight and sense was somewhat eclipsed by association with Mr. Trosper's handsome daughters, Misses Lucy and Edna, and it became for some time quite questionable with us whether or not we should have any young men to accompany us any further on the trip, even Charley, the cook, being "bad gone" and almost declining to go another foot toward the old Yellowstone park.

Up until the last eight or nine miles before reaching "Murphy's" oil wells, the Kirk party had followed the Rawlins and Fort Washakie Road and telegraph line which was built in 1880.<sup>17</sup> Their route from east of the oil wells to Lander followed down Twin Creek to its confluence with the Little Popo Agie and thence northerly to Lander while the telegraph line and road turned north through hills passing east and north of Lander to Fort Washakie.

"Murphy's oil wells" are now the Dallas oil field. The drilling of the wells was based upon the existence of an oil seep or tar spring in which oil found its way to the surface in a spring and partially evaporated to form a tar residue. Based upon even earlier

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16. *Cheyenne Leader*, July 19, 1892

17. *Carbon County Journal*, July 3, 1880; October 2, 1880.

reports by trappers, a successful search was made for this spring by Captain B. L. E. Bonneville in 1833. Mineral rights in the land were acquired by a group which included Mike Murphy and the discovery well was drilled in 1884, finding oil at 300 feet.<sup>18</sup> Large scale production was prevented by the absence of low cost bulk transportation facilities and the field remained shut-in until Murphy sold out in 1903 to a British company.

From 1872 to 1876, Mike Murphy was one of the best known residents of Rawlins where he was the proprietor of a clothing and dry goods store. In 1875 he was elected to the Wyoming Legislature from Carbon County, which accounts for Kirk's use of "Hon." He sold out his business in 1876 and "rushed" to the gold fields in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Although he probably never realized the oil millionaire status Kirk predicted, he is said to have received \$400,000 for his interest in the Dallas field.<sup>19</sup>

Judge Knight was a District Judge at this time. Born in New York in 1850, Jesse Knight was an early settler at South Pass City, Wyoming where he was postmaster for a time.<sup>20</sup> He was a successful lawyer and was Chief Justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court at the time of his death in 1905. Mr. Dodge almost certainly was his court stenographer.

Kirk appears to have known Trosper previously from the time of his residence at Hilliard.

Payton had visited the Murphy oil wells several weeks earlier and the error referred to was contained in his article in the *Leader*.

July 13th. Mr. Murphy and Mr. Trosper and his family accompanied us to Lander, where we went into camp in Mr. Batten's "pasture." Murphy and the Trosper young people remained with us until we struck camp the 15th. In the afternoon we all went eight miles up the Big Popo Agie to see "The Sink" which all who visit Lander should do, as it is certainly not only a very curious freak of nature, but as a sight for those who delight in the wonderful it will pay more than a thousand per cent on the cost of taking the trip.

The Big Popo Agie at this place is not so wide as the Platte at Ft. Steele, but I think it flows full as much water, which comes tumbling down the side of a mountain at fully a quarter pitch until it strikes the rocky side of the mountain, where by sheer force it has cut away a great cave in the solid rock, forming in the same a turbulent whirlpool in which every drop of the water sinks from sight, going, no one knows where, but sinking with such force as to engulf great trees, root and

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18. For a summary of the history of the Dallas Oil Field and technical description see: Ptasynski, Harry, *Dallas Dome - Derby Dome Area*, Wyoming Geological Association Guidebook to the Southwest Wind River Basin, 1957, pp. 127-131, with bibliography.

19. *Wyoming Tribune*, April 10, 1905; *Lander Clipper*, April 14, 1905; April 21, 1905.

20. Record of appointments of postmasters, Record Group 28, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C.

branch, which, it is supposed, are deposited in some great cave in the mountain, as no one has ever observed the exit of any very large drift.

About one-fourth of a mile down the river again makes its appearance, and at this place there is an undiscoverable depth of water, swarming with trout and other fish; the best fishing, however, is about two miles above the whirlpool. Where the river sinks out of sight, and from that to the place of its exit, "The Sink" forms a natural bridge, and the curious feature of the bridge is, that in crossing, you come out upon the same side of the river. It in subterranean depths undoubtedly follows on a like course.

Thursday, July 14, we went again to "The Sink" to take a more extended view. In the cave are the names of thousands of sight-seers, inscribed in pencil, paint, chalk, and even hewn in the everlasting rock. We caught a fine mess of trout on this last trip.

Kirk's description of this remarkable feature is creditable. The Sink is now protected as one of Lander's outstanding attractions and visitors are invited to feed huge trout which can be seen in the pool where the river emerges from its cavern in an enormous spring.

Friday, July 15, we went only to Ft. Washakie, where we camped near the Hot Springs, remaining there two days waiting the decline of water, that we might with safety cross the Wind river, which at this point is a very rapid and dangerous stream. Those who claim to be acquainted with the routes were of a variety of opinions as to the best course to pursue, but after due consideration of the difficulties attendant upon packing over the Wind river and Shoshone ranges, we decided to follow the course as recently marked out, and, after having enjoyed the baths for a couple of days, purchased grain and other necessities, seen all we wanted of soldiers and Indians, upon Sunday, July 17, and having heard that the water had sufficiently subsided in Wind river so that we could safely pass, at 7 o'clock we struck camp and rolled out across the Indian reservation, crossing the most beautiful country that it has ever been my fortune to see in Wyoming, dotted with farms, farm-houses and ranches. Arriving at the Wind river and safely crossing the same, we went into camp at 3 o'clock p.m., tired, weary and hungry. After satisfying our appetites, despite mosquitoes, which were very numerous (in fact millions of them), we retired early, and passed the night soundly wrapped in the arms of Morphus.

Fort Washakie, about 15 miles northwest of Lander, for many years had been the outpost of advancing civilization in central Wyoming. Manned by the military, it was an agency for the Shoshone Indians upon whose reservation it was located. The hot springs not far from the Fort, although not really very hot, had a voluminous flow and at the time of Kirk's visit were well regarded for therapeutic value. Kirk's route from Fort Washakie was generally northerly 15 or 18 miles to the place where they forded the Wind River.

Monday morning, July 18, at 7 o'clock a.m., we were all ready and pulled out diagonally across the Wind river bottom traveling about eight miles before reaching the first bench, then by five different steps we were raised to five different mesas, the greater portion of which were covered with a magnificent growth of grass and a floral

display which was very gratifying to the eye. These mesas are very fertile, could easily be irrigated and would make the finest farming land in America: but for a number of years, perhaps, they must be encumbered by the Noble Red Man, as they are yet within the confines of the reservation. This was a long day's drive, as we found no water fit for cooking purposes until arriving at Spring creek, immediately at the foot of Owl Creek mountains, where we had the grandest camp as yet on the trip.

Still following a northerly route, Kirk's party ascended several levels of benches to the foot of the Owl Creek Mountains north of the Wind River valley. The farmer in Kirk comes out in his observations on the potential for irrigation which were fulfilled. Most of the route from just north of Lander was across the Shoshone Indian Reservation; Kirk was repeating editorial opinion that the Indians would eventually be evicted in favor of white settlement.

So far we have been traveling through a country with which many of your readers are personally acquainted, and its scenery and most points of interest have often been written for publication, and I have endeavored in my writing not to be platitudinous. Hereafter I shall be more explicit.

At 6 o'clock the morning of July 19 we began the ascent of the Owl Creek mountains, arriving at the summit at 9 o'clock. We had two double teams for about two miles from this point, and with the field-glasses we obtained a magnificent view of the reservation clear back to Wind river. Much snow is still hanging upon many of the Owl Creek and Shoshone ranges, which the morning sun shining upon covers with a glare everything to the eye, yet beautiful to behold. A fine growth of splendid pine timber is to be seen upon these mountains in many places, and in the little parks upon the very top are many springs of clear ice-cold water.

This has been the hardest part of the route so far. We are now encamped upon Grass creek, a stream of clear, cold water, fringed for miles with a beautiful growth of cottonwood, and one of the tributaries of the Big Horn. We saw millions of mammoth crickets on these mountains.

Having crossed the Owl Creek Mountains, the party now was faced with crossing the drainages of a number of streams which flow east into the Big Horn River. This was done by following a zig-zag course upstream, across a divide, downstream to the confluence with another stream and upstream again repeatedly. Grass Creek later achieved fame as an early Wyoming oil field. Kirk, however, must have meant North Fork of Owl Creek instead of Grass Creek as their camping place on the 19th. *infra*.

## SECOND LETTER

(*Carbon County Journal*, Saturday, August 13, 1892)

Mammoth Hot Springs, National Park. Aug. 1—Well, here we are at last after twenty-five days of travel, most of the time very hard travel, too, but relieved by something of interest at every stage of our journey.

From Fort Washakie to Meeteetse, the Kirk party followed a road which eventually would have taken them into Montana. This road had probably been in use less than seven years at the time. Regular mail service between Fort Washakie and Billings, Montana, made postoffices along this road possible. After crossing out of the Indian Reservation at the summit of the Owl Creek mountains, the party descended to and across Owl Creek and then north across a divide to the North Fork of Owl Creek. Their camp on the night of July 19th probably was close to Embar postoffice where Kirk could have mailed the first letter.<sup>21</sup>

Two and a half miles from camp we came to '21' creek, which we followed for ten miles. After leaving '21' creek we crossed a very hilly country for five miles to Grass creek and Gooseberry, in the valleys of which are a good many fine ranches, the LU ranch being the finest, surrounded by great meadows, waving fields of oats, alfalfa and other farm crops, the entire valley being a pictured romance of farm life. We camped early and spent the afternoon picking gooseberries, of which there is an untold quantity. The folks made about ten gallons of gooseberry jam. Very fine.

Making gooseberry jam along the route is an activity seldom engaged in by the average Yellowstone tourist!

Thursday, July 21st., we broke camp early and followed the course of Gooseberry creek for about ten miles in a northwesterly direction. This is a beautiful little valley, dotted with ranches and diversified with groves of very fine timber that look almost as though they had been planted by the hand of art; while the mountain sides are covered with dense forests of pine, spruce and hemlock, and where the valley proper breaks into the hills there is an almost unbroken line of terraced, pillared and mineralized rocks, rising almost perpendicularly in many places to a height of 150 or 200 feet. Turning directly north upon leaving Gooseberry valley, we entered a strip of badlands, some seven or eight miles wide, in which we secured some fine kodaks of the most singular formations that we have yet passed. Emerging from these badlands we descended a very steep declivity into the broad and beautiful valley of the Grey Bull, a very rapid and beautifully pellucid stream, swarming with trout and grayling and grandly fringed with cottonwood, box elder and other kinds of timber, among which I observed a number of scyamore and honey locust, the first I've ever seen west of the Missouri river. At the bridge, which by the way is a very solid and good government structure, we found Wm. McNally, a blacksmith who used to work for Mr. Candlish, at whose shop we had quite a job of shoeing, wagon repairing, etc., done, of which we stood sorely in need, as rough roads and hills had made sad havoc upon the outfit. In the Grey Bull valley are fine fields of grain of all kinds, and the valley looks like the east, it having been settled and farmed for twenty-five years past. Here we bought some fine grain for our teams and some fresh home grown vegetables for ourselves.

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21. Much of the route from Rawlins to the Stinkingwater River can be traced on General Land Office plats of original cadastral survey which show geographic features.

James Candlish was a pioneer resident of Fort Steele and would have been well known to Miller and Startzell as well as Kirk. McNally is not found mentioned in the usual references, but appears to have been known to the party from former times.

We passed a very pleasant night on the banks of the Grey Bull, after having eaten fish until cloyed, and upon the morn of Friday, July 22, rolled out early for Sage Creek, twenty miles distant. From Meeteetse postoffice, which is kept by the Widow Wilson, in a fine new log hotel, between the mouth of Meeteetse creek and Grey Bull, we passed to the northwest over another strip of badland for some seven miles, when we descended again into the valley of Meeteetse, up which we travelled for some five miles amid the handsomest ranches and grandest grazing grounds that it has ever been my fortune to see in Wyoming, not even excepting the Wind river reservation. We stopped at the ranches of Mr. G. W. Wise and were treated to all the fresh milk we could get away with. We also supplied ourselves with a number of pounds of good fresh ranch butter. A mile and a half from Wise's ranch we came to Arland, a small village having a postoffice, a good hotel, a store and an unlimited quantity of the best of coal, the main opening to the mine being just 100 paces from the hotel kitchen door. I saw more cattle yesterday and today than upon all the rest of the trip, belonging principally to the M Bar outfit and Judge Carey. The whole country is underlaid with coal and it is of such excellent quality that the people burn even the croppings in their cooking stoves.

Kirk fails to mention that the original name of Meeteetse was first "Frank" and then "Franc" for Otto Frank whose cabin was about a mile and a half from Meeteetse postoffice. From this point, the party left the road leading to the north and veered northwesterly. The old Meeteetse postoffice seems to have been three or four miles south of where Meeteetse is now and the party crossed the hills in the "V" between the Grey Bull and Meeteetse Creek. From here their route was northwesterly in a direct line toward Cooke City. Wise's ranch was about eight miles west of Meeteetse postoffice and Judge Carey was the well known Wyoming pioneer lawyer, governor and U. S. Senator, Joseph M. Carey, whose cattle operations were widespread throughout the state.

Saturday, July 23d, we travelled only eighteen miles, arriving at Stinking Water bridge at 2 o'clock p.m., and although this stream has such an unmusical name, it is the most beautiful and clearest, sweet tasting and pure stream I ever beheld, abounding in fish and flowing through a grand wide valley. It takes its name from the fact of its headwaters flowing through and between mountains of sulphur and other minerals which at that point gives the water a peculiar scent.

The Stinking Water is now the Shoshone River and the place of crossing was about where Cody, Wyoming, is now. Kirk is close to the truth although the "mountains of sulphur" is an exaggeration. There are sulphur hot springs up the stream from Cody and numerous deposits of solid sulphur in the rocks along the river which had their origins in extinct hot springs.

"It is getting too dark to write any longer, and the mosquitoes are

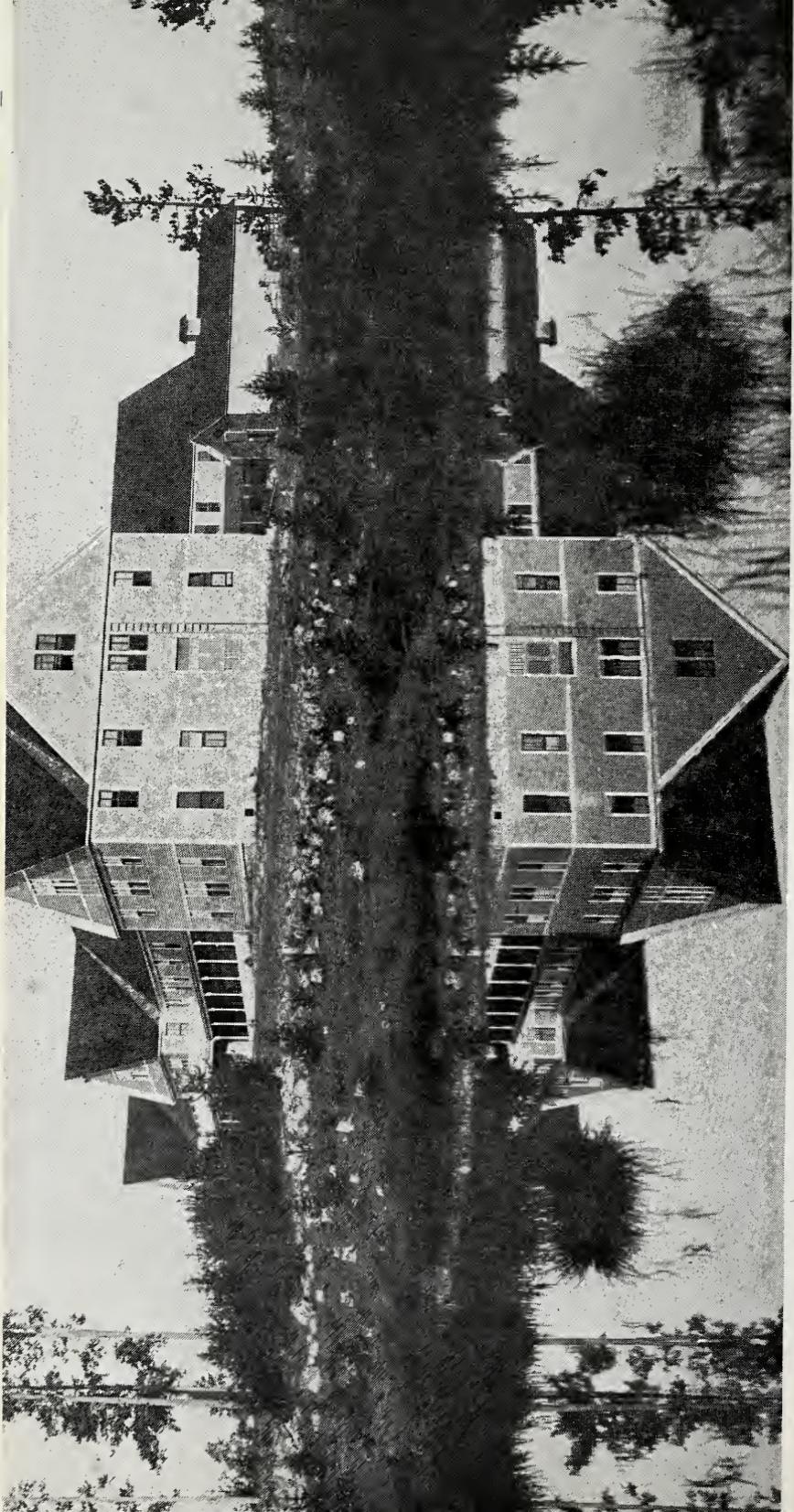


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OLD FAITHFUL GEYSER

THE FOUNTAIN HOTEL

The Fountain Hotel, located just north of Fountain Paint Pot, was built in 1891 by the Yellowstone Park Association. Closed shortly after park transportation was motorized in 1917, the structure was razed in 1927.





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**THE YELLOWSTONE LAKE BOAT CO. STORE**

The Yellowstone Lake Boat Company was organized in 1889. Headed by E. C. Waters, the company operated boats on Yellowstone Lake.



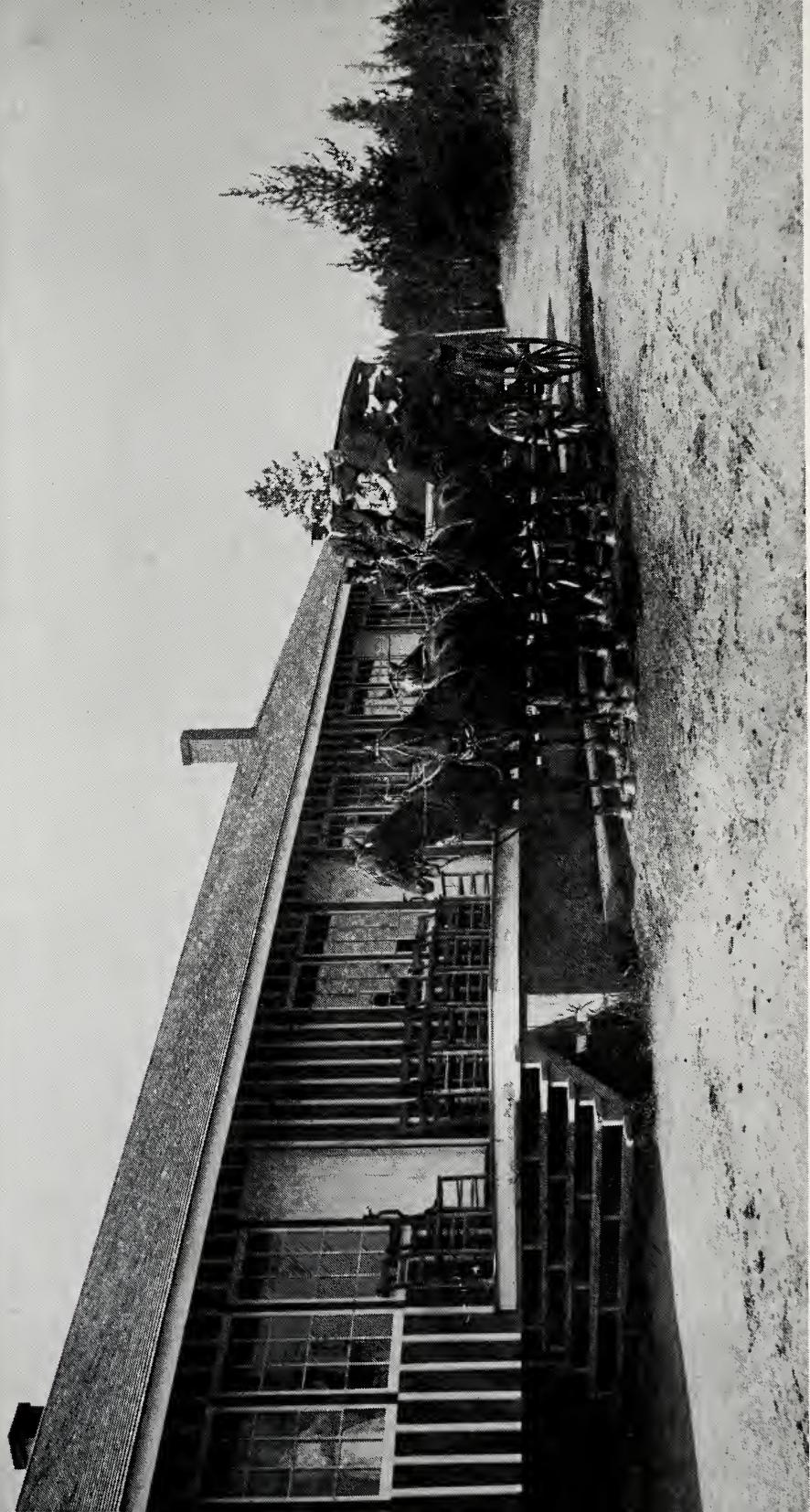
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**YELLOWSTONE LAKE BOAT LEAVING THUMB**



LUNCH STATION AT THUMB OF LAKE

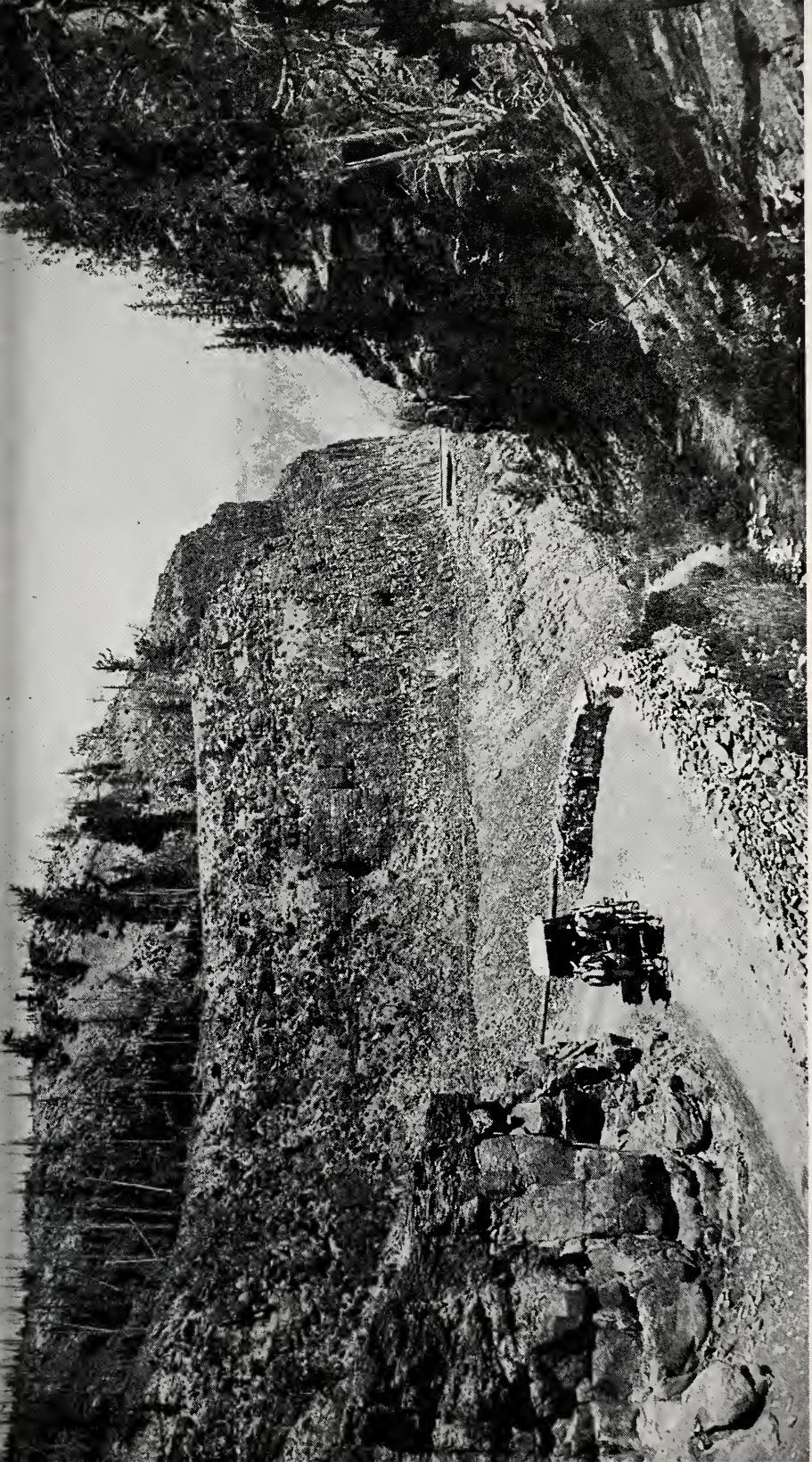
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JUPITER TERRACE, MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS

THE GOLDEN GATE, NEAR MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS





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MRS. JOSEPH E. STIMSON AT THE CONE AT THUMB OF LAKE

This cone probably is the one referred to in Henry Kirk's article for the *Carbon County Journal*, Saturday, September 17, 1892, in which he said fish could be caught in the lake, dropped into the cone and cooked in two minutes. Kirk's article appears in this issue in "Sixty Days to and in Yellowstone National Park," edited by Daniel Y. Meschter.



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PHOTOGRAPHER JOSEPH E. STIMSON IN CAMP AT THE CODY GATEWAY  
TO YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

just beginning to get in their work. Will continue tomorrow. Have read no mail yet and of the opinion Perry has forgotten instructions.

The reference to Perry was to Perry L. Smith, the postmaster at Rawlins. Perry Smith was another Wyoming pioneer senior even to I. C. Miller.<sup>22</sup> Evidently it had been arranged for him to forward mail to the postoffice at Mammoth Hot Springs.

Virginia Cascades, National Park, Aug. 3 - Sunday, July 24, was a very cold morning, and the whole party wore their wraps all the forenoon, winding around the foot of the northeast spur of the Shoshone range, amid dense forests of pine and hemlock, catching the breeze all the time from the snowbanks on the peaks. About noon we passed between Heart peak and the main range, going in a westerly direction along the north side of the spur. At 3 o'clock we arrived at Chapman's ranch, a very handsome place in a vale of about a thousand acres, one vast meadow, highly improved and growing most all kinds of tame hay. Mr. Chapman is a great cattle and horse raiser, but the Wood river horse thieves, of which Jack Bliss was the leader, got away with 400 of his finest horses this last spring about twenty head of which is all he has thus far been able to recover. At this place we hired a guide to go with us as far as Cooke City. We began the ascent of Dead Indian hill immediately upon leaving Chapman's and camped after four miles of climbing. It has been quite a hot afternoon, and the big black flies are so numerous as to make the teams wild. We travelled about twenty-five miles today.

From the crossing of the Stinking Water, the route was north and west up Cottonwood Creek, across a divide and down Skull Creek to Pat O'Hara Creek which is probably where the Chapman Ranch was located. From here to Cooke City their road led them through some of the remotest and most scenic mountain terrain in Wyoming. The difficulty of the route from Chapman's to Cooke City is clearly shown by the judgement of the party to hire a guide for this part of the journey. It is odd that they did not camp at Chapman's, but went four miles on.

Monday, July 25th. we were on the way at 7 o'clock, continuing our climb of Dead Indian hill, the summit of which we reached at 11:30 a.m., all the time, until we arrived at the foot again at 3 p.m., traveling through scenery that I do believe Switzerland cannot surpass. The trail winds along the side of the hill eleven miles in ascent and five miles in descent, in many places very steep. For at least two miles the road runs along the edge of a canon where the water runs some 400 or 500 feet immediately beneath. All worked hard until 4 o'clock, and we made but thirteen miles progress, camping at Sunlight creek, a deep, rocky, rapid stream, the crossing of which we all fear and shall feel greatly relieved when it is safely crossed. But I must revert once more to Dead Indian hill and its scenery. Six horses were required in many places to take up our wagons, and we were seven hours in traversing eleven miles of ascent, while on the descent of five miles

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22. For a biography of Perry L. Smith see Meschter, Daniel Y., "History of the Presbyterian Church in Rawlins, Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 38, No. 2 and Vol. 39, No. 1.

rough lacks [sic] on both hind wheels were the continuous order; but, oh! the scenery. Lofty forests from the beginning, trees so high you must take two looks and a squint to see the top of them, and so thick one cannot see but a rod or two into them, rocky gorges both to the right and left, of interminable depth; clear, gurgling streams of snow water crossing the road at frequent intervals; ice cold springs on every hand, and the flowers dazzling to behold, while the rock formations assume all manner of grotesque and curious shapes—spires, turrets, minarets, terraces, castles, in every direction, while every niche upon the mountain sides is filled with nature's own statuary, gorgeous to behold. "Kodak" got many good views, so that on the whole we feel amply repaid for our toil.

Tuesday, July 26th. early in the morning, we started to cross Sunlight creek, but it was 11 o'clock before the last wagon ascended the bank upon the opposite side. The crossing is not more than fifty feet wide, but is filled with huge boulders, upon which both our baggage and mess wagon got fast, and all the men of the party, except myself, worked for three and a half hours in the ice cold flood, leaving to unhitch from the baggage wagon in mid-stream and draw it out backward, the water dashing half way up on the wagon and completely drenching our beds and spare clothing. Boyd was the only one who got a head-and-ears dunking, and at this Mamie fainted dead away and his mother went into a fit of hysterics. Finally all got safely across, experiencing nothing worse than the delay and ducking, not even breaking a rope. Today we only made twelve miles advance, but the scenery of yesterday, intensified, has been repeated. Would that I had the descriptive ability of Wakeman and the pencil of a Raphael, and then I could give you an idea of its loveliness. But all I can say must fail to give anything but a faint conception of its beauty and grandeur. I must, however, hurry forward, giving only a synopsis of my notes, which are quite complete.

Wednesday morning, July 27, found us breakfasting in the clouds, floating all around us, above us, below us, everywhere; and so misty and cold that all our extra clothing was again brought into requisition, nor was it relinquished until 10:30 a.m., when we descended into the valley of Clark's fork, and the sun burst forth from the clouds of mist which had enveloped us and revealed a scene of transcendent beauty, of which I may write in the future. This day and the 28th., 29th., 30th., and 31st. were one continued repetition of what I have been attempting to describe, only the scenery at each step becomes more beautiful, wild and romantic. Should I attempt to write what I feel, I would occupy too much space, so I will skip over to the afternoon of the 31st. when at 4 o'clock we came in sight of Terrace mountain, upon and at the base of which are the Mammoth Hot Springs of the Yellowstone National Park. We camped this time one mile above the government post, immediately at the base of the terraces, which in the glorious evening light are one glittering, dazzling, gorgeous mass, very trying to the eye, but the one great engrossing object of vision, look as you will. A description in my next.

Kirk is not explicit, but it would appear likely that the party entered Yellowstone Park from the northeast down Tower Creek and across the Yellowstone River to Mammoth Hot Springs. The trip from Rawlins to Mammoth had taken 25 days. He does not keep his promise of a description of Mammoth Hot Springs in his next letter.

## THIRD LETTER

This third letter was delayed in the mails and so was the last one published well after the party had arrived back in Rawlins.

(*Carbon County Journal*, Saturday, September 17, 1892)

In camp near the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone Park, Aug. 7, 1892—As I have so much to write, keeping as I do a very extended and minute account of our trip, I must ask you and my readers to excuse leaping from one place to another, frequently quite distant from each other, and some time in the future, when I shall have placed my notes in readable shape, I will give you the whole story, should it prove worth publishing, and now for this day's record.

Kirk has passed over the party's activities from August 2 to 6. Presumably they would have spent August 1 in camp at Mammoth before traveling out into the park. From this and the Virginia Cascades dateline on August 3, it is evident that they went south from Mammoth past Obsidian Cliff to Norris Geyser Basin and then east to Virginia Cascades. From there it was an easy trip to the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone River and then south up the river to Yellowstone Lake in time for the boat excursion on the 7th so vividly described in this letter. The text indicates that the "Lillah" sailed from at or near the present location of Fishing Bridge and landed for lunch at West Thumb where excursionists from Old Faithful enroute to Canyon were picked up. As Kirk points out, the excursionists had the option of making this part of the trip from Old Faithful to Canyon Hotel by either stage or boat.

Six o'clock a.m. saw our camp astir in busy preparation for a boat ride, in the beautiful little steamer "Lillah", 98 feet in length and 18 feet wide and capable of carrying 200 passengers, commanded and partly owned by Comrade A. W. Waters, past department commander of Montana. Having already breakfasted (fish, as usual, forming the principal constituent element of the repast) the cook proceeded to make our provisions as safe as possible against a probably raid of bears during our absence, one having had the boldness to come within fifty yards of our camp this morning while we were at breakfast, which the boys drove away by pelting with tin cans. They would have tried to rope him, but for hearkening to the advice and solicitations of their elders.

Yesterday morning we were entertained by the very pretty and pleasing sight of a couple of black tails quietly nipping the tender herbage of the park about sixty yards from our camp, while our horses were inquisitively sniffing about them, as though they would not like to scrape a closer acquaintance. When the bears appeared only about three rods from them, aloft went heads and tails and they began such a scene of prancing, snorting and capering as it had never fallen in the lot of any of us to witness, finally ending in a hasty and ignominious retreat of a half mile or more to the further side of the park, where the scene was re-enacted, as though the roll were being called to find if any had fallen in the momentous but bloodless conflict, and you may be assured that only by strong effort and much coaxing could they be again induced to go into that part of the park; and all day, (so the soldier guard said who had an eye to our belongings while we were gone) whenever they thought of it the prancing and snorting was

renewed. It seems very singular how tame game of all kinds has become here since being encircled by the protecting arm of our great and glorious Uncle Samuel.

The women having donned their best, which by the way is magnificent, consisting of white wool slouch hats and bloomer dresses with divided skirts, arrayed the children in gorgeous attire, the men, with overalls turned inside out in order to present the cleanest side, and Ike, clothing himself in the wish that he had brought his new hat along for the occasion, you should have seen us at 8:30 a.m.—Charley Schroeder, the cook, wearing a paper picadilly, turned the second time, which he brought along for gala feasts in the van—wending our way to the "Lillah" which sails every morning at 9 promptly. Upon boarding the boat we found ourselves the cynosure of all eyes as being "that party of campers, the young ladies of which ride horseback a la clothespin" and in the midst of tourists from all parts of the world, even China contributing her quota. We, however, stood the inspection, remarks and all the rest of it, and had a very enjoyable day, landing at 11 a.m. at the hotel pier in the southwest extremity of Thumb bay, where we ate our noon lunch, spending the remainder of our two hours' stay in looking at the geysers, hot springs, paint pots, etc., that line the coast northwest from the hotel for a distance of three miles or more. There are sixty-six geyser cones and hot springs in this basin, so I am informed, the temperature of the water averaging 190 degrees Fahrenheit. Upon one of these geyser cones which extends into the lake some, at an elevation at its top of eight feet, formed by the silicious deposit of the intensely hot spring in its centre, one can catch one of the multitude of fishes swimming about its base, and, without changing his position or removing the fish from the hook, drop him into the vividly green pond, cook him in two minutes, and one old fisherman avers if he has provided himself with a little salt he can eat him before he is done kicking. However truthful this may be I know not, but I do know that in four minutes every particle of fish will be cooked off the bones and you will draw upon nothing but a fish skeleton. This is called Fisherman's Cove (?)—and of it we obtained a very truthful photo.

The phrase "a la clothespin" is a graphic expression describing how the ladies rode astride their horses rather than using sidesaddles which were favored by ladies during the Victorian era. The Kirk party must have looked shabby compared to the more elegant tourists who were paying their way.

One o'clock having arrived, and with it the coaches bearing tourists from the Upper Geyser basin, who have the choice to make the trip to the Canon hotel either by boat or stage, we found upon returning our passenger list increased by about twenty-five names, and we promptly started upon our return trip, making the entire circuit of the southern and eastern shores, passing many beautiful headlands, sailing across "The Fingers," cutting the mouth of the Upper Yellowstone, running past many islands covered with forests and exquisite verdure; then out into the middle of the lake, where we hove to for fifteen minutes, and the field glasses were brought into requisition. By their use we caught glimpse of the valley of the Yellowstone at the north, while beyond in majesty towered the Beartooth range. Equally grand at the east the Shoshones arose, and in the southeast was to be seen the distant Stinkingwater range, while directly at the south Mt. Sheridan loomed in grandeur, and at the southwest the mighty Tetons arose, burying their lofty peaks among the clouds. Upon the west was the Conti-

ntental Divide, the grand old Rockies proper, and all of these covered with a glittering mass of silvery snow that never disappears.

On Yellowstone Lake, Kirk was nearly due west of where the party had crossed the Stinkingwater River more than two weeks earlier. It would be several decades before a road would be driven through to the Park across Sylvan Pass from Cody, Wyoming.

After contemplating this awe inspiring scene, gorgeous beyond description in the afternoon sunlight, we resumed our movement and at 4:15 were landed in safety at the wharf from whence we started, having made a trip of seventy miles, being well satisfied with the day's study of the mysterious ways and works of nature and nature's god.

That we were tired goes without saying and, after partaking of a supper which would tickle the palate of kingly epicure that the cook had the foresight to have prepared, we chatted for a couple of hours with some neighborly campers from Helena, Montana, who visited us, and upon their departure sought our tents and were soon wrapped in the embrace of old Morpheus, sleeping as only tired and contented campers can sleep.

#### FOURTH LETTER

(*Carbon County Journal*, Saturday, August 20, 1892)

Mammoth Hot Springs, National Park, August 10—Wednesday we arose early, and after having performed my usual morning ablutions and taken a five mile walk from camp, I came into the basin of the Upper Geysers, ascended the cone of Old Faithful, and after a brief survey of the panorama spread out at my feet, I seated myself on one of the dozen or more of the little terraces on the northern side of the cone, in plain view of the hundreds of columns and jets of steam arising from the geysers and the numerous hot springs of the basin, undisturbed by anything mortal or immortal, save the occasional rumblings of Old Faithful's subterranean thunder, which could cause an occasional trembling of the surrounding formation. I will attempt to give something of a word picture of the sight as it appeared to my feeble conception. Directly to the north and upon the side of Firehole river, after crossing a neat foot bridge, you find Bee Hive geyser about 100 feet from the river, deriving its name no doubt from the peculiar shape of its cone, it being about four feet in height, by three feet in diameter at the top and seven feet at the bottom. It has an opening, or crater, which is about eighteen inches across, gradually growing smaller till the base of the cone is reached, giving it somewhat the appearance of a hose nozzle reversed. Through this the water is shot forth with terrible force to the height of 170 to 220, or even 250 feet, and its eruptions occur three times a day when it gets one of its streaks of regularity. It is, however, quite irregular and frequently plays as often as every three hours, when, having apparently exhausted its resources, it will remain inactive for a week or more at a time. These extra exertions of the Bee Hive generally follow the activity of the Giantess, and as she was quiet during our stay we had the pleasure of seeing but one exhibition from the Bee Hive and that not so strong as a great many, so the soldier guards say. But even this was a great sight, the water rising to an estimated height of 190 or 200 feet. Having written thus far, but the increased rumblings and a few premonitory spurts from Old Faithful I was made aware that its time for activity was nearly due, and precisely at 5:15, just as the sun had risen to such a height as to fully clear the tops of the surrounding forest trees, and

flood the basin with mellow morning light, there burst from the cone with the rapidity of an arrow a jet of water, 2x6 feet, rising in majesty to the height of 150 feet, where it stood apparently motionless, emitting great clouds of vapor that hung like a shroud around it, while the air was filled with strong sulphurous fumes escaping from the ascending stream; the earth trembling, subterranean muttering, mumbling and thundering, and anon sharp explosions, being the attendant sounds, while the spectators, with open eyes and mouths and heads thrown back, gazed at this sublime spectacle, which is repeated every sixty-three minutes, scarcely ever varying five minutes, day or night, year after year, age after age, the grandest exhibition ever beheld by mortal. And all of this without money and without price. I had the good fortune to witness the same exhibition by full moon, an account of which I will give you after the election mudslinging is done; but for the present I must ask to be excused from writing any more letters, as I am obliged to write till late at night in order to keep my notes up to date.

Kirk passes over the 8th and 9th and on the 10th is obviously in the Upper Geyser Basin near Old Faithful. Possibly the *Carbon County Journal* took the Mammoth Hot Springs postmark for a dateline. All mail from the Park at this time went through the postoffice there.

## FIFTH LETTER

(*Carbon County Journal*, Saturday, September 10, 1892)

In camp near the headwaters of Bear River, Aug. 23, '92.—Leaving the Yellowstone National Park on the 11th. inst., we wended our devious way down the Madison river in a southwesterly direction to Henry's lake, where, upon the morning of the 14th. we parted company with N. E. Heckenlively, he deeming it best to return to Rawlins, as he thought he had spent as much time on the trip already as was expedient for him to spare from his studies. And by the way, in his so suddenly leaving us hangs a bear story, which Charley Schroeder is the best hand to relate, and one, too, that he delights in telling. Apropos of bear stories, I must relate a little experience in that line of my own.

It is evident here that Kirk's party left the Old Faithful area on the 10th and went down the Firehole River, possibly camping that night at Madison Junction. They left the park near the present site of West Yellowstone, Montana. Henry's Lake is somewhat further west in Idaho. Their route from there took them south along the eastern edge of Idaho into western Wyoming.

The afternoon of the 12th., after going into camp, the appetites of the whole party still craving trout, I concluded after dinner to go to the river about two miles distant and try to catch a mess. At 5 o'clock I started out, having a low, meadowy flat for about a mile and a half first to cross; then passing through a thick growth of young pine for 200 yards or so, I came in hearing of the roar of the river. There I paused in a little park, fastened my line on the rod and baited my hook, and made a rush to pass through (as I supposed) a thin skirting of willows along the river's bank. I all at once emerged from the willows upon the shore of a beaver bayou, some twenty feet wide,

and upon the opposite side was a little park, probably about four by two rods in dimensions, and in the middle of the park, just as I pushed aside the willows and came into view, arose upon her haunches an old she bear, having with her two very pretty little cubs perhaps three months old, she sitting up and gazing at me and I as intently gazing at her, while the cubs all unconscious of an audience, continued their gambols. For twenty seconds, perhaps, we thus eyed each other; then the old one dropped on all fours, struck her claws into the grass and soft earth and threw it in a cloud over her back, and emitted an unearthly waugh! waugh! The cubs scampered away in the bushes behind her, she giving me an ugly look and an angry growl, as if in remonstrance at the disturbance, then slowly stumbling off in pursuit of the cubs.

It is needless to say I was somewhat relieved at seeing that bear's tail, as during all the time we studied each other I could feel my hair raising my hat until it seemed like I had on the tallest kind of a plug, and the sweat breaking through every pore as profusely as though laboring in a harvest field.

Upon her retreat I made myself scarce as soon as possible, going through willows and pine and skipping quite nimbly over old fallen tree trunks, forgetting till at camp all about fish, and all things else except to reach a comparatively safe place, the bear meanwhile being as glad, undoubtedly, to be rid of my company as I was of her, she having the advantage, however, of not having to listen to the jibes of her companions.

I saw many beautiful places between the national park and this place, but the finest of all was the Salt river valley, which we left about noon today. This valley was about fifty miles long, extending nearly due northwest, by three miles wide on an average, and is settled by Mormons. The people have the best and most finely cultivated ranches, the best stock and crops I've seen on the trip, and all of this has been accomplished in the last nine years.

The Salt River is along the Wyoming-Idaho line and the valley referred to is probably the Star Valley of Wyoming. It was early settled by Mormons from Utah and justly deserves Kirk's admiration. Today it is rich farm land and famous for its dairies.

Will tell you a whole lot more when I get home, which will be in about nine or ten days, I hope.

H. A. Kirk.

\* \* \* \* \*

According to Kirk's time table, the party expected to return to Rawlins about September 2. If this prediction proved accurate, the return trip took 22 days and the whole trip 57 days including 10 days in the park.

The following year Kirk returned to Lander to lecture on the trip and to show the pictures he took.<sup>23</sup> Kirk was reported working on a book during the following winter, but so far as is known nothing came of this effort except the title, "Sixty Days to and in Yellowstone Park".<sup>24</sup>

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23. *Carbon County Journal*, September 9, 1893

24. *Carbon County Journal*, February 4, 1893

Wyoming's Frontier Day. Third Annual Celebration, August 23rd and 24th, 1899. Frontier Day is no longer an experiment. Last year's celebration was such an unqualified success, and met with such hearty praise on all sides, that the success of future events is assured. This year's programme will contain the most popular features of former events, and many new ones. The committee solicits suggestions and correspondence in the interest of the celebration. For information address E. W. Stone, Chairman, Cheyenne, Wyo.

Advertisement

*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, July, 1899

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*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, July, 1899

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The Wyoming Hereford Association is now gathering its spring crop of calves at the Hereford Ranch six miles west of Cheyenne. Thus far the owners have had good luck and have had no losses. It is stated that this is the largest herd of registered Herefords in the country. The entire calf crop for the ensuing three years has been sold to John E. Fairwell of Texas.

*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, May, 1899

# *Miner's Delight, Investor's Despair*

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF A SUB-MARGINAL MINING  
CAMP IN WYOMING.

By

ROBERT A. MURRAY

On some maps of west-central Wyoming, out at the end of a dimly-traced track lies a tiny dot, with the name *Miner's Delight* close by. In an age when backcountry travel has become a significant recreation activity, this is sure to attract some attention. The name itself fairly drips with "the dew of promise" to today's ghost town buff, as it did to wandering miners and unwary investors alike for almost half a century in Wyoming's youth.

Part of the lure now lies in the physical remains of mining settlement with its antiquarian appeal. Surely behind such a name, and the cluster of mining structures and shacks it represents there must also be some lure for the folklore-seeker, the reader of western history, and perhaps for the scholar. We believe all these classes of reader may find a closer historical look interesting, since very little factual information on this old community appears in print. In taking such a look, we found that the facts are on the one hand less glamorous than the flights of fancy to which the sight of these ruins have carried some writers. On the other hand, the facts we have found serve to interrelate the story of Miner's Delight with the greater story of the mining-west. They also reveal in some detail the normal activity and the ups and downs of a camp that is, if anything, pretty typical of the western mining camp. It is a story much more filled with the heights of human hope and despair than it is with bonanza wealth. The fact that this camp saw three unsuccessful periods of development over a period of only forty years is a tribute to the "will to believe" common to gold camp folk, to the tenacity of the western miner and the gullibility of otherwise knowledgeable financiers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The best studies of value to the general reader interested in the mining history of the west include:

Otis Young, *Western Mining*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,

## GENERAL BACKGROUND TO THE SOUTH PASS GOLD RUSH

The South Pass mining country lies on the slope at the southeastern end of the Wind River Mountains. Most of the significant rock formations are metamorphosed rocks, mostly schists. Mineralization is generally associated with quartz. Over the mining area itself, most of the overlying early sedimentary formations were stripped away by erosion, and are represented today on the margins of the area by the limestone cliffs to the northeast of Beaver Creek.

Millions of years of erosion cut on down into the metamorphosed rocks, exposing, weathering and eroding the mineralized veins. The chemical and physical weathering processes freed a great deal of the gold in the exposed veins, and carried it downstream to be entrapped in streambed irregularities, or left standing in stream course changes. By the beginning of the historic period, fairly substantial placer deposits accumulated along the streams and gulches of the district.

At the same time, weathering and erosion steadily admitted groundwater to fissures in the formations below. This induced chemical action that freed a part of the gold from the upper portions of the veins.<sup>2</sup>

The lure of precious metals formed one of the first inducements to exploration in the age of discovery. With the conquest of the West Indies, and more significantly with the harvest of accumulated treasures in Mexico and in Peru, it became for a long period the primary reason for many explorations in the New World. The mines of Mexico and the Andes continued under Spanish rule to pour out their trains of treasure.<sup>3</sup>

Settlers of the French and English colonies further north soon accepted disappointment in their search for mineral wealth, and settled down to more routine economic activity. The most significant exception for years was the rediscovery of Indian-worked gold placers in the southern Appalachians in 1793. Compared to Latin American mines, the initial yield was small. In 1829 a real rush occurred and by 1866 the region had poured an estimated 20

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1964).

Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963).

William S. Greever, *The Bonanza West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

2. See: Frank C. Armstrong, "Preliminary Report on the Geology of the Atlantic City-South Pass Mining District, Wyoming," unpublished manuscript, 1948, copy in BLM files, Lander.

3. One of the best discussions of the lure of gold for Spanish explorers will be found in: Stephen Clissold, *The Seven Cities of Cibola, The Early Spanish Expeditions to North America*. (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1961).

million dollars into the nation's currency and commerce.<sup>4</sup> More significantly, it led to the displacement of the Cherokee and other Indians in one of the classic cases between settlers and Indians to reach the Supreme Court, along with a memorable clash between the Court and the President.<sup>5</sup>

More immediately important to the American West was the practical training many Georgians acquired in the prospecting and exploitation of placer deposits. Georgians figure prominently in most of the landmark discoveries of placer gold in the West. The techniques of the western prospector and the placer miner derive from a combination of Georgian and Mexican practices.<sup>6</sup>

The story of gold in the American West begins with the discovery of a few flakes of gold in a mill race under construction at Johann Sutter's colony of New Helvetia along the Sacramento River in January of 1848. Significantly, the discoverer, James W. Marshall, and others present including Isaac Humphreys (who did the first "panning" there) had some experience in the Appalachian gold fields.

The detailed story of the exploitation of the California gold fields provided sufficient historical accounts to fill a substantial library. Most significant to our story here, however, is the fact that the California gold rush altered the established pattern of exploration and development of the U. S. Frontier. No longer did the frontier push steadily ahead in a wave-like sequence of economic development of resources. First, a massive wave of emigration moved to California. At its peak, about 50,000 persons a year took the long and difficult covered wagon trip to the California diggings, supplemented by thousands more who made the trip by sea.

The first decade of placer mining in California brought the fusion of Appalachian and Mexican work techniques. It also saw the end of easily worked placer deposits that could be worked by the average individual miner. It brought the beginnings of hard-rock gold mining that blended again the Appalachian and Mexican practices with an infusion of technical know-how from Britain and from northern Europe.

The California placer mines during the peak years created a generation of miners and of other specialists supportive to placer mining, and the beginnings of a corps of hard-rock gold miners. As opportunities for individual wealth in California diminished

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4. T. A. Rickard, *A History of American Mining*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1932), pp. 18-19.

5. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932).

6. An outstanding discussion of the technical history of western mining methods will be found in: Otis E. Young, Jr., *op. cit.*

with the exhaustion of easily accessible deposits, many of these men set out to prospect the mountain and basin country that had been skipped over by the rush to California. Most of these prospectors and miners radiated out from California. Where they found paying placers, or promising ledges, a new gold rush soon started, repeating all over again the technical, social and economic phenomena of the California Gold Rush on a larger or smaller scale as dictated by the resources that became available. From 1858 to 1890, the mining frontier in the west was not a frontier line in the classic sense, but scattered enclaves of mining settlement. The most primitive were but clusters of prospectors' shacks along some thin-pay placer gulch. The larger ones became complex urban outposts, often isolated hundreds of miles from their main supply bases.

From California, the gold (and silver) seekers moved to the Washoe and Comstock of Nevada, to the Front Range country of Colorado, to northern California, to Oregon, then to Oro Fino, Salmon River and Boise Basin in Idaho, then to Montana, and to parts of Utah.

By the end of the War for Southern Independence in 1865, the major placer deposits in all the above locales were being rapidly exhausted, and mining moved into the high-capital-requirement stage wherever prospects would support it. The placer miners moved on. Soon west-central Wyoming came to their attention. Here, too the "Georgians" and the "Old Californians" played a key role in the discoveries.

### THE SOUTH PASS GOLD RUSH

The literature of the mining west is full of tales of early gold discoveries, usually predating the California rush. None of these finds came to anything, and most are at best preserved as bits of folklore passed through so many retellings as to lose all specific details. The newspaper *Sweetwater Mines*, published such an account as part of an early history of the district in its March 24, 1869 issue.<sup>7</sup> It is essentially the same story as appeared in the January 14, 1868, issue of the *Cheyenne Argus*.<sup>8</sup> The story has been widely reprinted in both historical accounts and geological reports. We include it herewith:

Gold in the Sweetwater district was first discovered in 1842 by a Georgian who came here with the American Fur Company for the recovery of his health. After remaining a year he started for home, intending to organize a company and bring them here to work the

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7. *Sweetwater Mines*, March 24, 1869, microfilm copy in Western Interpretive Services collections.

8. *Cheyenne Argus*, January 14, 1868.

mines. He never reached his home, however, and was supposed to have been killed by the Indians. Thirteen years elapsed, when a party of forty men arrived here. They prospected the whole length of the Sweetwater, found gold everywhere in the river, as well as in all of its tributaries, and turned the main stream from its channel 400 yards. A small shaft eight feet deep, from which they took from 2 to 10 cents worth of gold per pan, was sunk and worked some time. When winter approached they abandoned their enterprise to winter at Fort Laramie, where they intended to provision themselves for a year and get a supply of necessary tools in the spring. This done they started, but when two days on their way were overtaken by United States dragoons and brought back to the fort. The leader was sent to prison for some imaginary offense and the property of the company confiscated.

In 1858 the leader returned to this region but did no mining until 1860, when he and eight others commenced mining on Strawberry Gulch. Their rotten sluices, rockers and toms remain there to the present day. During 1861, mining was abandoned because men could make more money putting up hay and delivering telegraph poles for the Overland Stage Company. In the fall of 1861, however, fifty-two men had collected at South Pass City ready to commence mining in the early spring of 1862. Their locations were selected and prospects over-promising, when like a thunderbolt the Shoshone Indians broke down upon them, robbed them of everything and drove them off.<sup>9</sup>

We feel it appropriate to comment on the above quotation. We have been involved in research at considerable depth in government records, both military and civil, and in traders' materials, emigrant diaries and the like. While we can find no evidence to refute these early assertions of prospecting in the Sweetwater country, we must also state that we have encountered no evidence whatever of a confrontation between such a party and the troops operating in the region. We believe we have sufficiently researched the military records to have encountered documentation of such an incident had it occurred. We believe there may be some confusion in the account stemming from the fact that in 1855, General William S. Harney, then conducting a punitive expedition against the Sioux, compelled all the *traders* of the region to concentrate at Fort Laramie where their activities could be more closely supervised by the army.<sup>10</sup>

We have encountered no further nor more detailed data on the 1860-1862 ventures. It is not at all surprising that the area was prospected in a desultory fashion before that date. With many Georgians passing through it may seem surprising that the paying placers were not developed earlier than they were. It is our opinion that this is mainly due to the intense publicity of the California

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9. G. C. Coutant, *History of Wyoming* (v. 1), (Laramie, Wyoming, 1899), p. 637.

10. Sioux Expedition letters and orders, 1855-1856, copies in the files of Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

rush, the comparative climate of the two areas, and the fact that few of the emigrants except the Georgians had any practical knowledge of prospecting until they got to California, where they "learned the trade."

As indicated in the above quote, there were competitive attractions for workers in the early 1860s. First during the years 1858 through 1860 there was a line of stagecoach stations built along the old Oregon Trail route. Then in 1860, a set of additional interspersed stations for the famed Pony Express. In 1861 came the building of the Pacific Telegraph. And the next year, in mid-1862, the Overland Stage Route was relocated far to the south on the famous "Overland Route." Subsequently the telegraph line also moved. All these activities provided abundant jobs for men from the same footloose labor market that might have otherwise turned to prospecting.<sup>11</sup>

Pioneer Wyoming historian C. G. Coutant lists several more 1862 parties, giving no documentation for his statements. Coutant was a newspaper editor for a time at Lewiston.<sup>12</sup> He may have directly interviewed some surviving "old timers" or still more likely some men who had "known some old timers", so except where he provides documentation, his assertions should be used with some care.<sup>13</sup>

Seasoned Montanans, with Colorado and California experience, reached the area in 1863, when James Stuart (brother of the longer-lived and more famous Granville Stuart) led a party of prospectors through the Big Horn Basin, the Wind River country, and the Sweetwater country, returning via Fort Bridger, Soda Springs, and the Red Rock Valley and Horse Prairie. The Stuart party found no diggings that "paid" from their viewpoint.<sup>14</sup>

We should point out that the men of this party, along with the seasoned prospectors of the next few years were what General Hazen in 1866 termed "fifteen dollar a day men."<sup>15</sup> When diggings averaged less per man/day, they were not interested and

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11. There are a large number of good accounts of these developmental activities. Some of the most useful are:

Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926).

W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

Robert E. Reigel, *The Story of the Western Railroads*, (New York, 1926).

12. *The Lewiston Gold Miner*, copy in the Lander Public Library.

13. Coutant, *op. cit.*

14. James Stuart, in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, v. 1, 1876.

15. General William B. Hazen, reports on his 1866 tour of inspection to Montana, Idaho, and Utah. See Robert A. Murray, "The Hazen Inspections of 1866," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, January, 1968.

moved on to prospect some new area that promised better pay. Some of them, like Jeff Standifer who came in '66 had tried out every major gold strike from 1849 on, skimming off the best and moving on.<sup>16</sup>

Coutant, citing H. G. Nickerson of Lander (participant in the gold rush, and later prominent citizen of Fremont County), asserts that soldiers who had served on the telegraph line had observed a prospector working the gulch near the later Carissa finds and washing out his gravel in Willow Creek.<sup>17</sup> Nickerson does not mention this in his "Early History of Fremont County," reportedly written in 1886.<sup>18</sup>

Coutant goes on to assert that a Lieutenant William H. Brown and some of his men prospected on a gulch north of Rock Creek in 1864, which they named the "Buckeye" in honor of their regiment's home state of Ohio. It is evident from Coutant's account that he either corresponded with Brown or interviewed him. Coutant relates several thin and disconnected incidents that may have come to him from Brown, about other prospectors in 1864.<sup>19</sup>

The First Nevada Volunteer Cavalry garrisoned Fort Bridger during much of the War period. The Nevada and California volunteer units contained large numbers of men with at least some experience in prospecting and mining. General Patrick Connor, in command of troops along the transcontinental routes, encouraged prospecting with a view to attracting more settlers.

He states in one of his reports for 1863:

Having reason to believe that the Territory is full of mineral wealth, I have instructed commanders of posts and detachments to permit the men of their commands to prospect the country in the vicinity of their respective post, whenever such course would not interfere with their military duties, and to furnish every proper facility for the discovery and opening of mines of gold, silver and other minerals. The results so far have exceeded my most sanguine expectations.<sup>20</sup>

Later the same year, he published a circular in the newspaper *Union Vedette* that says in part:

... for the purpose of opening up the country to a new, hardy, and industrious population, deems it important that prospecting for minerals should not only be untrammeled and unrestricted, but fostered by

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16. Standifer appears at many points in *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), Vol. 25, covering Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, and in newspaper accounts of the period.

17. Coutant, *op. cit.*

18. Herman G. Nickerson, "Early History of Fremont County," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Wyoming State Historical Department*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-13.

19. Coutant, *op. cit.*

20. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. 50, Part II, pp. 656-657.

every proper means. In order that such discoveries may be early and reliably made, the General announces that miners and prospecting parties will receive the fullest protection from the military forces in this district, in the pursuit of their avocations, provided, always that private rights are not infringed upon.

. . . The General . . . also directs that every proper facility be extended to miners and others in developing the country: and that soldiers of the several posts be allowed to prospect for mines, when such course shall not interfere with the due and proper performance of their military duties.<sup>21</sup>

With the end of the war, and the prospective muster out of the volunteer troops, many of these miners made plans to stay in the regions where they served, rather than go home to the more crowded labor markets of the established mining camps.

Coutant reports that Major Noyes Baldwin of the 1st Nevada Volunteer Cavalry at Fort Bridger led a prospecting party of 40 men to Strawberry Creek, Beaver Creek, and on into the Wind River valley in the late summer of 1865.<sup>22</sup>

Major Baldwin and Johnathan F. Skelton at Fort Bridger, grubstaked a prospecting party consisting of Johnathan A. James, D. C. Moreland, William Jameson, William Burch and W. H. Shoemaker. This party gave a signed agreement to Baldwin, dated October 31, 1865.<sup>23</sup> They organized as the Lincoln Mining District upon arrival in the Sweetwater country.<sup>24</sup> James sent in a written report on March 18, 1866. It is evident that he was following up specific leads gleaned from the tales of earlier prospectors. He outlines the geology of the country and then says:

"I am not yet prepared to give you a definite report concerning the Quartz on willow creek. We spent about one month there, but the weather was so intensely cold and so much snow, that we did not have a chance of thouroly trying any of the ledges that are visable, while we were there we burnt and washed out in a horn spoon croppings from several of the ledges, but have not found any thing in them yet, in fact Major we think most of the leades here are basterd, from their striking similarity, to the basterd quartz of Montana and Idaho Camps, but that there is one good ledge in that immediate vicinity, we have not a doubt, for we have tested those digings that old Cambell had out there enough to satisfy us, of that fact . . ."<sup>25</sup>

James goes on to allude to a ledge discovered in 1865 by Mr. Eddy, and to discuss prospects on Rock Creek and Strawberry.

The pace of prospecting accelerated in 1866, throughout western

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21. *Union Vedette*, November 20, 1863.

22. Coutant, *op. cit.*

23. Agreement between these parties, on file in the Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming Library, Laramie.

24. On file in Grace R. Hebard Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming Library, Laramie.

25. Letter, Johnathan James to Noyes Baldwin, March 18, 1866, Hebard collection, as above.

and northwestern Wyoming. "Captain Bludsoe" came down Wind River with 45 men. A large party of Idaho and Montana miners entered the region from the north, from Bozeman, Montana. Jefferson Standifer led this group. He remained prominent in the South Pass region for several years. This party prospected the front of the Absorokee Range from Montana around the west side of the Big Horn Basin. Near Wind River Canyon, they met Bludsoe's party and joined them to prospect the Wind River country. Part of the Montanans under Robert Bailey turned back and prospected the Big Horns in late summer. Standifer and Bludsoe and their men prospected on the Sweetwater and in the Wind River mountains before breaking up their large prospecting parties for the winter. None of these parties were particularly satisfied with the results of their season's work.<sup>26</sup>

Still more prospectors returned to the South Pass Country in the spring of 1867. Noyes Baldwin returned to the area that year. Henry Ridell, Frank Marshall, Harris B. Hubbell and Richard Grace formed one of the first parties on the ground. In mid-June the prospectors formed the "Shoshonie Mining District". Among the first lode claims filed were the "Cariso" and the "King Solomon". Both became well known and eventually the "Cariso" became known as the "Carissa" which name it bears to this day.<sup>27</sup>

News of these discoveries reached Salt Lake City by July 1, Omaha by the 12th,<sup>28</sup> and Chicago by July 13, 1867.<sup>29</sup> This publicity accelerated the prospecting activity and miners working the northern portion of the mineralized area at South Pass organized the "California Mining District."<sup>30</sup>

In September, 1867, the Miner's Delight lode was located along with a number of placer claims along the tributaries of Beaver Creek.<sup>31</sup>

The party making the "Cariso" find reportedly got out about \$1100 in dust and a like amount in "specimen ore" within a short time, and sent it to Salt Lake City for provisions. This would have been the party bringing the first news of this strike to the Salt Lake papers.<sup>32</sup>

About 150 Sioux and Cheyenne Indians attacked the settlement of miners along Willow Creek on July 22, 1867. Many of the

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26. See: *Idaho World*, August 18, 1866; *Montana Post*, October 27, 1866; *Owyhee Avalanche*, October 27, 1866; *Montana Post*, March 16, 1867.

27. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.* also: "Mining Records of the Shoshonie District" Carter County Book I, (BLM Oil Shale Project microfilms)

28. *Omaha Herald*, July 12, 1867.

29. *Chicago Tribune*, July 13, 1867.

30. Book XVII, Carter County Records, (Oil Shale Project films).

31. "Letter by a miner at South Pass City, to the *Virginia Tresspass*," reprinted in the *Sweetwater Mines*, April 1, 1868.

32. See newspaper accounts above.

miners were ill-prepared and poorly armed, and retreated to the trading posts along the trails leading to the mines.<sup>33</sup> Soon, however, they began to filter back, and by mid-August, there were reportedly about 200 men in the region. Perhaps still more arrived before winter.<sup>34</sup>

The prospectors who wintered there got a taste of isolation and of the long winter at the 8000 feet elevation of the mining settlements. The first venturesome pack train into the area in 1868 started out on February 23, as early as it dared:

"A train consisting of three teams and a number of pack animals started from Henry's Fork on the 23d, bound for Sweetwater. This outfit will get into the mines if it is possible, opening the road, and there is little doubt that when once opened—the season now being so far advanced—it will be kept open."<sup>35</sup>

Newspapers in Salt Lake, Cheyenne, Omaha and Chicago all took note of the popular interest in the Sweetwater Mines as the region became known. A newspaper called the *Sweetwater Mines* appeared that winter, first publishing at Fort Bridger, but oriented toward the building gold rush.<sup>36</sup> Its editor received a letter from "Hank Whip" in Salt Lake City, written on March 14, and published it in their March 21 edition:

The city is filled with strangers en route for the Sweetwater mines. The western coaches are coming in now loaded down with passengers for that destination. Wells, Fargo & Co. will reap a rich harvest from the Sweetwater travel this season. Whenever W. F. & Co. stock the road between Fort Bridger and South Pass City, and I understand they will shortly do so, you may look for an influx of passengers whose number will require a dozen daily coaches to accommodate them.<sup>37</sup>

On March 11, 1868, the *Cheyenne Leader* estimated between 700 and 1000 men were in the mining region.<sup>38</sup>

Spring of 1868 brought a considerable rush of both prospectors and the curious to the mining region. Most of the latter departed by mid-summer, when Indian raids much disturbed the country. The newspapers and other commentators all make considerable point of the short stay and rapid departure of the curiosity seekers, the first-time gold seekers, and assorted other opportunists who found few attractions here. Specimen ore from the first shallow

33. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 731-32.

34. *Ibid.*, also items in *Cheyenne Leader*, *Omaha Herald*, scattered through the period, esp. *Cheyenne Leader*, March 11, 1868.

35. *Frontier Index*, March 6, 1868.

36. Fred B. Rogers interview with Adam Aulbach, reported in pp. 133-134, Major Fred B. Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland*, (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1938).

37. *Sweetwater Mines*, March 21, 1868

38. *Cheyenne Leader*, March 11, 1868.

pits and shafts of the best looking claims stirred the imagination of experienced miners and not-so-experienced capitalists and much of the summer of 1868 appears to have been given over to securing the machinery, tools, and reserves of capital with which to explore the quartz veins further. The more skilful placer miners during this period took out much of the more heavily concentrated placer gold.

Aside from the activities of the placer miners, the last half of 1868 and the first half of 1869 seem to have been given over to development work on the most promising lode mines, such as the Carissa at South Pass City, the King Solomon not far away, and the Miner's Delight at Spring Gulch, near the hamlet known as Hamilton City.

The towns of South Pass City and Atlantic City were laid out largely on the hopes of real estate speculators based upon the flow of persons to the country in that first rush of the spring of 1868. A considerable number of buildings were erected in the two major towns, but there is good evidence that *most of them were never occupied*, and that a relative handful of businesses held on past the mid-summer exodus of 1868!<sup>39</sup>

Through that summer of 1868, developers of the lode mines were hurriedly bustling about with their assay reports in hand, mustering capital. Most of the serious and experienced miners were eagerly awaiting the arrival of mills, for only in quantity milling could they obtain a really good reading on production-run ore. The first milling appears to have been done in power driven arrastras on June 26, 1868.<sup>40</sup> Several weeks earlier, Tozier and Eddy had purchased a six-stamp mill from a Salt Lake firm. This did not get into operation until July 20.<sup>41</sup> A number of mills were reported to be on the road that summer, but in total there was little production from the lode mines. Most production, during this peak year of the boom came from the placers, now being worked by a steady group of professionals and the more patient of the amateurs.

The Union Pacific Railroad pushed into southwestern Wyoming in 1868, and its demand for ties, for labor and teams for grading, for timber and labor for bridge construction created a market that conveniently absorbed many men from the dying South Pass gold rush. It appears to have lured many away from marginal diggings to the security of long-season, steady construction jobs, and the towns of Green River City and Bear River City thronged with a level of activity unknown in the gold camps.)

39. James Chisholm journal, in Lola M. Homsher, *South Pass, 1868*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), pp. 62-76.

40. *Sweetwater Mines*, July 3, 1868

41. *Ibid.* also: statement by E. B. Eddy, p. 331, House Executive Document #207, 41st Congress, 1st Session, *Statistics of Mines and Mining . . . Rossiter W. Raymond, ed.*, (Washington: GPO, 1870).

Newspaperman James Chisholm found South Pass City a village of 50 or 60 inhabitants, on September 12.<sup>42</sup> Walking on the next day to Atlantic City, he found "about 60 good log cabins, and at first sight one would say, here is a considerable settlement. But when you descend and pass through the silent city, very few of the huts bear any traces of a housewarming. In fact they were all built on speculation. I saw at least one family—a mother and a few flaxen-haired children, and further on I came to a cabin labled 'Atlantic Hotel' and another near it 'Saloon' . . ." Moving on to Miner's Delight, he found some activity on the mine of that name, little production, and a modest population, mainly hired hands at the mine and placer miners.<sup>43</sup>

The mills arrived in variety and number by the spring of 1869, and this gave some impetus to hard-rock mining activity. None the less the special territorial census taken by a U. S. Marshall revealed but 1517 persons! This in the entire mining region.<sup>44</sup>

Tozier & Eddy's mill on Hermit Gulch crushed \$55,000 worth of ore between 20 July 1868 and 1 July 1869.<sup>45</sup> The Cariboo produced about \$5000 worth. The Miner's Delight mill reported between \$60,000 and \$70,000. The same professional source computed a total, including placer mining activity of \$155,000 gross gold production for the entire district from July 1, 1868 to July 1, 1869!<sup>46</sup> All emphasis at this point seems to have been upon the *prospects* for the district, rather than on production to date. It seems noteworthy that the cost of the stampmills in actual operation on the road in July of 1869 including transportation and installation costs approximately equals the total value of the gold produced to that date.<sup>47</sup> Clearly a good deal of the wealth from placer claims of the major partnerships was being poured into improvements on their lode claims, along with all the outside capital they could muster. Most promotion of the mines at this stage was based on quotes of \$30 to \$40 or even greater production per ton. Assays on the choice deposits of weathered rock close to the surface ran in that area and on selected specimens, even higher. Both miners and investors at this stage appear to have been filled with hope that the values would hold up and the leads increase in volume with depth. *These are famous beginners' and promotor's fallacies in western mining.* Even working miners pointed out the improbability to Chisholm.

The fall of 1869 was a "selling" time in the South Pass Gold

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42. Chisholm, in Homsher, *op. cit.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Special Territorial Census, quoted by Homsher, *op. cit.* p. 218

45. Tozier report in Raymond, cited above under 41.

46. Raymond, 1870, *op. cit.*

47. *Ibid.*

country. Records of real estate deeds and bills of sale for commercial and personal property bear this out. The skilled and fortunate sold out their claims at substantial cash prices. Others drew in outside capitalists to build the mills and bring the bonanza within reach. Other old hands saw the "writing on the wall" and sold bar stocks and fixtures at South Pass City for less than the apparent cost of freight to get them there a year earlier! The newspaper *South Pass News* sold for less than \$2200, building equipment, stock and fixtures!<sup>48</sup>

The story at the end of the '69 season might be summed up by saying that there were good values coming from shallow shafts in a few mines. There was no way to tell how far they would go, and some men essentially bet on them.

The "fifteen dollar a day" prospectors continued to exit from the region through 1869. In our examination of southern Montana materials in relation to earlier projects, we find many of the persons who prospected the South Pass country reappearing at Bozeman and other points used as prospectors' bases in Montana by 1869. They continued to drift back to Montana through 1870.<sup>49</sup> Other seasoned westerners drifted on to other activities. John "Portugee" Phillips apparently made one trip here in 1868, but found tie cutting on the railroad and hay and beef contracting with the army more profitable.<sup>50</sup>

It is possible to obtain a great deal of detail about population and business activity for 1870 from the federal census, taken in that year. The total population recorded for the entire district is 1166.<sup>51</sup>

The discovery and promotion group at Miner's Delight sold off some of their holdings to secure capital in this period. With these infusions of capital, most activity was directed to the installation of new machinery for mining and milling, and decreasing volumes of ore were actually mined.

Since much of the actual gold production in this development period was in placer gold, it is difficult to obtain precise figures. Wells, Fargo & Co. maintained a record of gold shipments from their South Pass City station, which has fortunately survived. This gives a profile rather than a total, of course, but as a profile we

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48. "Bills of Sale" in BLM Roll #3, Carter County Records.

49. This is confirmed by the 1870 census schedules for the precincts around Bozeman and on the upper Yellowstone which we have examined in microfilm at the Montana Historical Society in Helena. See also Topping, op. cit.

50. Robert A. Murray, "The John 'Portugee' Phillips Legends, A Study in Wyoming Folklore," in *The Army on Powder River*, Bellevue, Nebr.: Old Army Press, 1969).

51. U. S. Census schedules, photocopies in Wyoming Archives and Historical Department and in Western Interpretive Services collections.

feel it is important. This set of books reveals a total of just \$60,000 dollars shipped in 1870, a bit more than \$36,000 shipped in 1871, and but a trickle thereafter.<sup>52</sup> It seems quite evident that a great deal more in the way of machinery and equipment and supplies was going into the country than was coming out in the form of gold. This was by no means an uncommon phenomena in western mining.

The most speculative ventures resembled the Carissa, where the "English company"

After being put in possession of the mine, it was ascertained that they were not only unable to pay for the mine, but also to work it. They had evidently bought it on speculation, hoping their stock could be sold on the record of the Cariso. Since that time nothing has been done on the mine.<sup>53</sup>

The better ones in early production tended to put it all back on the ground and more, in the form of machinery.

The trend continued, and in 1877, Dr. F. M. Endlich of the U. S. Geological Survey said:

During the time I visited the districts (July and August), but very little work was carried on and few of the mines only could be examined.<sup>54</sup>

By 1880, the population of the district dropped by still more.<sup>55</sup> After that date most revivals of activity centered around the activities of a sequence of generally unfortunate concerns. These mostly fall into a pattern, wherein carefully edited material from geological reports on potential and past production were placed in the hands of eastern capitalists along with development proposals. A company would be formed, substantial sums spent reopening a mine or group of mines, building milling equipment, and the like, only to have the enterprise collapse when a true appraisal of the cost/yield ratio was made. This is clearly the case with the Hub Gold Mining Company venture at Miner's Delight, in 1881 with the Clark/Richards/Walsh ventures at the same mine 25 years later, with the Snowbird, the infamous Dexter M. & D., and the Timba-Bah, and the various desultory reopenings of the Carissa.<sup>56</sup> The one really bright exception to this pattern is the E. T. Fischer placer

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52. Wells, Fargo & Co. shipment books, (1870-1877, South Pass City) Originals in the Wyoming Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne, microfilms in Western Interpretive Services collections.

53. House Executive Document 151, 3d Session, 42nd Congress, 1872-1873, p. 306.

54. F. M. Endlich, (in Hardin) *U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the territories of Idaho and Wyoming, 1877*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1879.

55. U. S. Census schedules, as above, but for 1880

56. See detailed discussions under the mines involved, below.

mining operation on Rock Creek 1935-1941, which was carefully planned, efficiently managed and brought in a substantial yield in a "final sweep" of the often worked gravel deposits.<sup>57</sup>

In general, each successive boom and failure in the sequence left the communities involved a bit more "played out". Each successive operation "skimmed the high grade" a bit more. People directly interested in gold mining activity steadily turned from mining to mines, to mining and capitalists, as any sort of development or maintenance work brought a certain amount of spending in the community.

Evaluation of total significance for a district such as this presents a complex set of problems. Using the popular criteria of total production places the district very low on the western scale of mining camps. The most reliable figures assembled without a view to promotional use indicate Wyoming's total gold production from 1867 to 1955 as \$1,925,863.<sup>58</sup> Much of this came from the South Pass region. It does not indicate a profitable region, overall. This is not much more gross return total, than the average annual net profit after taxes of Homestake mine, for example! The rush here was brief, with relatively small numbers of persons involved. Historian Tom Nicholas, of Casper, has compiled an index to persons known or strongly believed to have been present at the South Pass gold rush, or in the early camps. The list is under 2000 names total, compiled from newspaper accounts, land records, and all other sufficient reminiscent material that we would have to say his list covers not just the rush, but a period extending at least as late as 1880. Some of these persons were there very briefly.<sup>59</sup>

Judging by numbers of people involved, or by total gold production it was, to paraphrase Teddy Roosevelt, "not really much of a gold rush, but it was the best we had" in Wyoming! Even the use of the most grossly inflated promoters' estimates of total production (around \$6 million to \$7 million) would not change this. We should add a further cautionary note, that what we might term the "promotional conspiracy" to secure expansion of investment in Wyoming's mines extended from the last and least mucker and teamster up to the state geologist and the state inspector of mines at times. In their official reports and in their contacts with promoters, it is evident that they could not bring themselves to say anything really bad about even the worst of the South Pass mines. In report after report, the tenor is "these would be really good mines if someone would only put enough money into them." Ob-

57. Charles L. Ross and E. D. Gardner, U. S. Bureau of Mines I. C. 6846, *Placer Mining Methods of E. T. Fischer Co., Atlantic City, Wyo.*, 1938

58. U. S. Bureau of Mines, *Minerals Yearbook, 1955*, (Washington: GPO, 1958), p. 1207.

59. We have interviewed Mr. Nicholas at length, and have examined his index and files. He resides at 1315 So. Elm, Casper, Wyoming.

viously the same might be said for virtually any western excavation, and this truth ultimately penetrated to the furthest crevices in the halls of mining finance.

And yet, we feel that so far as the territory and the immediately surrounding region are concerned, the significance may be more than can be simply measured in net gains and losses. *First*, the gold rush was so timed that it brought a surplus of labor into the area in time to facilitate construction of the most expensive and difficult stretch of the Union Pacific railroad, and the accompanying realignment of telegraph lines. *Second*, virtually all the development money, including the periodic losses of eastern investors, poured into the regional economy. Freighters perhaps profited the most, followed by the suppliers of food, clothing, miners tools, mining equipment. Much of this spending had an impact as far away as Salt Lake and Denver. *Third*, the presence of the mining community helped to speed the settlement of the Wind River Valley and the development of its early farms, along with providing added impetus to the coming of the cattle industry. *Fourth*, the presence of the mines established here stimulated the federal government to build Camp Stambaugh here, and Camp Brown, in the Wind River Valley. The spending by the federal government in support of these two posts and their garrisons probably exceeded the direct economic effect of the mines themselves during their most productive years.

All of this activity was viewed as beneficial by the citizens of the territory and of the region, because it improved the cash-flow situation of the economy. Nationally, the results were less desirable, but in that time, and in this region, one could have found few defenders of the national interest as opposed to prevailing regional economic interests. *Can we today, either?*

#### MINER'S DELIGHT, ITSELF

The Miner's Delight complex, as a historic entity includes the townsite variously known as Miner's Delight or Hamilton City, the Miner's Delight group of mines, along with placer ground on Meadow Gulch, Yankee Gulch, Spring Gulch, and mill sites and placer ground on Beaver Creek.

This component of the South Pass mining region did not produce significant discoveries in the very earliest prospecting of the region. It first breaks into the news in the summer of 1867. Organized that summer as the "California Mining District," under the federal mining law of 1866, it quickly became a popular placer mining district, as filled with prospectors as the rest of the region.<sup>60</sup>

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60. See California Mining District materials in the BLM Oil Shale Project microfilms of the Carter County records.

One such team found the "Miner's Delight Lode," on a ridge at the head of Spring Gulch in September of 1867.<sup>61</sup> There is some disagreement as to who, precisely, was the first of the group to find it. Both Frank McGovern and Johnathan Pugh are credited with the find. Pugh, along with George McKay (reportedly first involved as a mine superintendent) remained in the country for some years, and folklorists seem to have obtained some of their data from them. Pence and Homsher credit Pugh with one of the discoveries involved, and Major P. A. Gallegher with another.<sup>62</sup> Contemporary newspaper accounts say:

"The ledge was located last September by Frank McGovern and others, . . . The same account says "Major Gallegher bought into the claim,"<sup>63</sup> while another newspaper item a few months later says "The Major is the principal owner in the 'Miner's Delight' . . ."<sup>64</sup>

Also involved at an early date was Jack Holbrook. At any rate it was McGovern, Holbrook, Pugh and Gallegher who set out to develop the mine. All of them were involved in a number of other individual holdings, partnerships, and activities. We must caution that these involvements are so complex that it is unsafe to say precisely "where the money was coming from" at any given time.<sup>65</sup>

Pugh and McGovern for example, filed a claim on April 22, 1868 "one mile each way up and down Beaver Creek" as a mill site.<sup>66</sup> Gallegher was involved in partnerships throughout the region.<sup>67</sup>

The earliest newspaper notice of activity at this end of the South Pass Region we have encountered appears in the *Sweetwater Mines* for March 21, 1868:

Having for the first time today obtained a copy of your spicy and enterprising paper, I thought I might contribute a letter to it that per chance would prove interesting to some of your numerous readers. I find the old California miners of this district are alive to their own interests and the interests of the district. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the season a great deal of prospecting has been done. New discoveries are continually being made, both in quartz and in gulch diggings. Messrs. Shively, Rice and Chace lately discovered and located a very fine ledge called The 'Kearsarge' running parallel with it, and supposed to be equally as good. Another lode was discovered by Mr. Bennett on the 23d of February, but he has not been

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61. *Sweetwater Mines*, April 1, 1868

62. Mary Lou Pence and Lola Homsher, *Ghost Towns of Wyoming*, (New York: Hastings House, 1956).

63. *Sweetwater Mines*, Wednesday, April 1, 1868

64. *Frontier Index*, August 25, 1868.

65. All of these men are mentioned frequently in the land title and partnership and other records in the Carter County Records in the Oil Shale Project films.

66. Water pre-emption in the records of the California Mining District, Carter County films.

67. See above, but also county court records for the 1870s.

able to do much as yet towards developing it. Enough work, however, has been done on it to demonstrate its being as rich, I think as the 'Miner's Delight' ledge. I have seen \$16.50 taken from 22 lbs. of its rock, worked by hand mortar process—a very inaccurate method of obtaining the full value of the ore. Many new ledges have recently been located, but as no work has been done on them I refrain for the present speaking about them. I cannot say as much for the placer mines as I can for the quartz claims; the latter I think, will beat the world. Yet, there are, in my opinion, sufficient placer diggings to make times exceedingly lively for a year or two, and furnish material to set the quartz ball rolling. And soon the thunder of quartz mills will be heard in almost every gulch and ravine throughout this whole country, making music sweeter far to miners ears than the softest tones of an Aeolian harp.<sup>68</sup>

The first notice of a town in the area appears three months later, in the same paper:

Hamilton City situated in Spring Gulch in California District is growing apace some thirty buildings are up and more in course of construction. Spring Gulch is turning out the bright ore in very comfortable quantities and more dust can be seen there and in the two adjacent gulches, Yankee and Meadow, than in any other locality in the Sweetwater country. Ten companies are at work in Spring Gulch, two by Comstock and Co., three by McGovern, Holbrook, Owen and Co., one each by Chace and Rice, Patton Vose and Co., Fitzpatrick, Townsend and Dalton, Smith & Co., and others; and all appear content with result of their labors. In answer to our enquiries most of them assured us that they could make \$100 per diem to each hand if they had 250 inches of water to wash with. Before another season rolls around, an abundance of water will be brought in when we prophesy the yield of gold will astonish all tender-foot-dom.<sup>69</sup>

We feel it is particularly important to note that the summer of 1868 saw mostly placer mining activity. It was just impossible to develop any sort of mine overnight. An appraisal of not only the financial but the logistic considerations will make this clear..

Here also are the beginnings of the "if they had" syndrome that plagued this camp from beginning to end. The fact remained that they did not have 250 inches of water, and had no rational prospect of obtaining it at an early date.

Discoveries throughout the district aroused interest sufficiently that there was a great stir about getting mills for processing the quartz. They were some time in coming, however, and the assertions of an early large production of gold from the quartz veins is just not supported by fact.<sup>70</sup>

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68. Letter "J.M.H." California Mining District to Editor March 7, 1868, printed in March 21, 1868 *Sweetwater Mines*.

69. *Sweetwater Mines*, July 3, 1868.

70. The *Sweetwater Mines* and the *Frontier Index* both carry quite a number of items relating to mills and rumors of mills, and their arrival at various points on the road in.

Using time-tried methods, and working hard while water was available, the placer miners took a fairly good yield from the Miner's Delight area through the spring of 1868. Some of the reports include:

(May 30) "The California Placer Mining Co.'s claims are turning out very well considering the amount of water they have (only about 10 inches.) They took out \$137.50 one day this week, working three hands. This result we saw ourselves and can vouch for." . . .

"We saw on Thursday last upwards of \$1,200 in gold dust, weighed out at the store of J. A. Nye & Co. . . from the placer claims in California District; among others we visited were Sheppard & Co's claims in Meadow and Yankee gulches. Although these gentlemen have but very little water, scarce 15 inches to work with, yet their claims are paying remarkably well . . ."<sup>71</sup>

(June 10) "Mr. Owens in from the Miner's Delight Ledge, California District, informs us that the miners engaged in Spring Gulch are making from one ounce to three ounces per day to the hand, with a very limited supply of water . . ."<sup>72</sup>

(June 17) "Major P. A. Gallegher left us yesterday for Salt Lake City, carrying some \$15,000 in gold dust, the proceeds of our much abused placer claims. This makes over \$20,000 shipped this week, and yet but few claims have so far opened . . ."

. . . "From Frank McGovern, Esq., Recorder of California District, we gather the following items about placer mining in Spring Gulch. At the lower claim with one sluice worked by three men, they took out on the 6th inst \$96, on the 9th \$122, and on the 10th \$128. At the upper claim, working a 'Tom' with one man shoveling and one tending sluice they have averaged \$40 a day, right along."<sup>73</sup>

Hamilton City acquired its first store early in July of 1868. Frank McGovern built and stocked it, "more for the accommodation of the miners of that vicinity than with the idea of making huge profits on them."<sup>74</sup>

There may have been some earlier processing in hand mortars, one-mule arrastras, and the like, but milling got its real start in the region on Friday, June 26, when the "splendid power Arrasta of Messrs. Fairfield, Bronson and Marshall," began operations. This was evidently a waterpower affair, located somewhere near South Pass City.<sup>75</sup>

There may have been an abortive start at milling in Yankee Gulch a bit earlier. A. K. M. Kenaly, E. G. St. Ledger and T. K. Poiree owned a four-stamp mill there.<sup>76</sup> It was reported to be a

71. *Sweetwater Mines*, May 30, 1868.

72. *Sweetwater Mines*, June 10, 1868.

73. *Sweetwater Mines*, June 17, 1868.

74. *Sweetwater Mines*, July 11, 1868.

75. *Sweetwater Mines*, July 3, 1868.

76. The bills of sale for Carter County contain one covering this mill and the transfer from the partnership to Nichols.

crude affair, and not much used until autumn when D. C. Nichols bought it.<sup>77</sup>

On June 13, 1868, the *Sweetwater Mines* reported the purchase of a six-stamp mill in Salt Lake City by Tozier and Eddy.<sup>78</sup> In due course the mill was shipped to the mines and assembled on Willow Creek, near the mouth of Hermit Gulch.<sup>79</sup> This mill was powered by an "overshot water wheel of 20 feet diameter and 4 feet breast."<sup>80</sup> It was a long haul by wagon from the Miner's Delight country to this mill, and the results of the first milling of Miner's Delight ore none too satisfactory, one writer reporting a Hamilton City consensus that "there must be a screw loose in Toger's Mill."

Tozier and Eddy apparently adjusted their operations successfully that summer however, for on September 8, the report reached Green River that:

. . . the little Stamp Mill there cleaned up \$14,000 from last week's run of 103 tons of ore from the Miner's Delight lead. . . .<sup>82</sup>

It seems probable that this was pre-sorted ore, in view of the cost of wagon transportation to the mill, and the high yield they obtained.

Despite numerous newspaper reports of Major Galleher's plans for stamp mills for his mines<sup>83</sup> nothing seems to have materialized until fall.

A mill-run yield of this kind stimulated investment in the district, and soon afterward it was reported that:

Jno. J. Walsh, of Chicago, came out to Sweetwater a short time since, examined the mines, located ground on several leads, and at once ordered a fifteen stamp quartz mill and a twenty horse power steam engine. This is the first steam engine for a mill in the Sweetwater Mines. Other enterprising capitalists see the correctness of Mr. Walsh's judgement and are about to follow suit in bringing out steam mills.<sup>84</sup>

Walsh's mill was variously reported as 15 or 20 stamps, and its progress reported in the newspapers.<sup>85</sup> On arrival it proved to be a ten-stamp mill, put in operation on January 14, 1869. This represents the first continuous milling activity in the Miner's

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77. Chisholm, pp. 94-95 in Homsher, *op. cit.*

78. *Sweetwater Mines*, June 13, 1868.

79. *Sweetwater Mines*, June 27, 1868.

80. R. W. Raymond (1870) *op. cit.*

81. Chisholm, in Homsher p. 95, *op. cit.*

82. *Frontier Index*, September 8, 1868.

83. Several items in *Sweetwater Mines* at various times.

84. *Sweetwater Mines*, September 29, 1868.

85. *Frontier Index*, November 16, 1868; *Sweetwater Mines*, Nov. 25, 1868.

Delight area. The first USGS report on the district is based on data gathered in the summer of 1869, and this report describes the mill:

The Miner's Delight mill has ten stamps, and is driven by a 40 horse-power engine, which uses two and one half cords of wood per day. The stamps weigh 425 pounds each, and crush from 10 to 12 tons of ore per 24 hours. They are geared to fall 14 inches, at the rate of from 40 to 70 drops per minute; 70 for hard and 40 for decomposed quartz. The tailings are very rich in both gold and quicksilver.

This mill has been running all the time from January 14, 1869 to July 5, with the exception of only twenty-five days used for cleaning up and repairing. It is owned by Holbrook, McGovern and Walsh. Their charges for hauling and crushing a ton of ore are \$15. The ore worked so far, has averaged about \$40 per ton; some of it yielded as high as \$200, some only \$16 per ton. It is estimated that the mill has extracted from \$60,000 to \$70,000 worth of gold from ore taken out of the Miner's Delight lode.<sup>86</sup>

Newspaper correspondent James Chisholm arrived at Miner's Delight on September 13, 1868, after the rush of spring and early summer had ended. The casual, curious and dilettante had made their departure, and fairly steady placer miners were bringing in the greater part of the district's returns. Chisholm's journal, ably edited by historian Lola Homsher, gives an intimate picture of mining activity and day to day life in the little hamlet.<sup>87</sup>

Chisholm describes the community as "A number of log houses nestled snugly enough near a field of young trees and bushes." He describes the steady habits and daily work of the small number of miners in the surrounding gulches. He describes at length their "day of rest" on Sunday, featuring cards and an abundance of drink. But he contrasts the "quiet life of this mountain camp, and the roaring hells of railroad towns which I have but recently quitted." Clearly, this village was not the rip-roaring gold rush town folklorists have made it out to be. It appears singularly quiet in fact.<sup>88</sup> The "bars" at this stage in Miner's Delight seem to have been no more than an adjunct to the store (or perhaps two stores). There were but four women in the town, only one of whom arrived with a shady reputation. This latter, called by the Miners "Candy", soon attached herself to the household of Jack Holbrook, of mill and mining ventures.<sup>89</sup> It would appear from the indications in the 1870 census that the attachment became substantial, and possibly permanent!<sup>90</sup>

Chisholm speaks of two miners by day and two by night working

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86. Raymond (1870) *op. cit.*

87. Homsher, *South Pass*, 1868, *op. cit.*

88. Chisholm, in Homsher, *ibid.*

89. *Ibid.*

90. Census Schedule for Hamilton City, June 16, 1870.

the Spring Gulch placers, and washing out "\$25 to the hand per day". Major Gallegher worked at the placer diggings himself. In anticipation of the coming of the stamp mill, the partners in the Miner's Delight began to widen the shaft, turning up new specimens of "jewelry ore", with visible free gold. Chisholm notes the differences of opinion on the value of this as a portent of mine prospects.<sup>91</sup>

All told, the picture is one of a relatively quiet camp. The shortage of water was a universal complaint, and doubtless a major factor in restricting placer mining activity in the period of Chisholm's visit. The *Sweetwater Mines* says on November 25, 1868, "Work is almost entirely suspended in the gulches . . ."<sup>92</sup>

Lode mining activity started to pick up as the mill neared completion. Naturally some men found employment in erecting the mill buildings, and assembling the machinery. The steam power plant created a demand for wood at from \$5 to \$10 per cord.<sup>93</sup>

The partnership of Cornforth, Allan and Anthony bought the northeast 600 feet of Miner's Delight from Gallagher, Pugh and Chase for \$18,000, and prepared to order another mill early in December.<sup>94</sup> This was not an operational reality, however until June 25, 1869.<sup>95</sup>

The availability of the mill brought the mine to a higher state of development by early July, 1869, when the USGS personnel examined it. Theirs is the first really detailed description of the mine, and we quote it in full:

The discovery shaft is located on the east side of the gulch. It is 50 feet deep, and was accidentally burnt a short time ago. About 100 feet southwest of this shaft, a second one has been sunk to a depth of a hundred feet, and about 130 feet still further on is a third shaft, 65 feet deep. Two horse-whims have been constructed to hoist ore and water. After the addition of the second whim, it was possible to keep the water down; it had troubled the miners very much before, and even forced them to stop sometimes. At the bottom of the last mentioned shaft a cross cut leads to the lode. Drifts have been started, one 20 feet to the southwest, the other 25 feet to the northeast. . .<sup>96</sup>

In the same neighborhood, they examined the Bennett Line Lode, which had only a 50-foot shaft, and the World-beater Lode, ". . . so far really innocent of beating the world. . ."<sup>97</sup>

Turning to the subject of placer claims, their report:

91. Chisholm in Homsher, *op. cit.*, p. 142-145.

92. *Sweetwater Mines*, November 25, 1868.

93. Raymond, *op. cit.* (1870).

94. *Sweetwater Mines*, December 5, 1868.

95. Raymond (1870) *op. cit.*

96. Raymond, *ibid.*, p. 335

97. Raymond, *ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

Gold has been found in nearly every gulch in the Sweetwater district, but the attention of miners being more prominently directed towards prospecting for lodes and quartz mining, gold washing has been rather neglected so far. Several gulches, however, as for instance Spring Gulch, Cariso Gulch, and several claims on Rock Creek, have been and are worked profitably. This gold dust is generally rough and not found at any considerable distance from the lodes. Near the veins, however, the claims are usually very rich.

The inclination of Spring Gulch is only five degrees. McGovern & Co. have worked in this gulch for some time. They have taken out as much as \$200 a day with three hands; but during last summer the general drought prevented operations to a great extent and left them only a few inches of water. The pay gravel is about three feet thick and only a few feet below the surface. The largest nugget taken weighed six ounces.

Yankee Gulch and Meadow Gulch run parallel to the foregoing. They are rich in gold, but the lack of water prevents them from being worked at present. It is reported that all the above mentioned gulches can be supplied with plenty of water by a ditch to be run from Beaver Creek.

The diggings in Willow Gulch prospect in spots as high as six and eight cents to the pan; the general average, however, is about \$3 per day to the hand.

The claims on Cariso Gulch and Rock Creek have paid well. Some gold has been taken from Atlantic, Hermit, and Smith Gulches; but on the whole, gulch mining is still in its very infancy in the Sweetwater district, and a large field remains open for prospectors.

The following is a more detailed statement in relation to the productiveness of the different gulch-mining claims, and a list of the mill ditches on Rock Creek, above Atlantic City.

Smith's Gulch, between Atlantic City and Hamilton.- First claim, above the road, 3 men wash out 4 ounces 16 pennyweights per week; 2d claim, below the road, 3 men wash out 6 ounces per week; 3d claim below the road, 6 men wash out 18½ ounces per week, (a nugget worth \$34 was found in this claim;) 4th claim, below the road, not worked at present; 5th claim, below the road, 2 men wash out 4 to 5 ounces per week; 6th claim, below the road 2 men wash out \$50 per week; 7th claim, mouth of Atlantic Creek, 4 men wash out 6 ounces per week.<sup>98</sup>

The 1870 census schedules for Wyoming are quite useful in appraising the situation that summer. Hamilton City, as the village along Spring Gulch near the Miner's Delight mine was known, had but 75 inhabitants at the peak of the season! Fifty-three of these were adult men. Of this number 40 were miners, one a plumber, two carpenters, one stationery engineer, one laborer, two teamsters, accounting for most of the men supposed to be working on the mine. Other than these there was one farmer, one grocer, one farm laborer, one shoemaker. There was but one "liquor dealer". A careful analysis of the housing arrangements and apparent relationships of most of the women present makes it apparent that the most ancient profession was not represented here!<sup>99</sup>

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98. Raymond, *ibid.*

99. U. S. Census of 1870, schedule for Hamilton City.

Hence the camp hardly meets the usual criteria of a "prosperous" mining camp. This was its most active year for development on the lode mines, too. In less than a year's time, the Miner's Delight mine had been pushed from a single 85 foot shaft to one of 50, one of a hundred and a third of 65 feet, along with considerable drifting.<sup>100</sup>

We previously intimated that much of what came out in this period went back into the ground in the form of machinery and labor. By late 1870, things began to tighten up financially. The first hint of this came in late spring when the partnership of Frank McGovern, John (Jack) Holbrook and Margaret (Mrs. Johnathan) Walsh, owners of the ten-stamp mill, sued Gallagher, Pugh and their associates for non-payment of an account of \$22,500 for milling ore. The matter was resolved out of court, the milling partnership dropping their suit, in return for a share in future proceeds, an adjustment of the charges, and other matters covered by an agreement signed on June 15 of that year.<sup>101</sup>

Through late 1870 and early 1871, the court records show a rash of law suits, liens and other evidences of tightening fiscal situations.<sup>102</sup>

The slack appears to have been taken up by the opening of new mines. Reporting on the situation for the 1872 edition of the Rossiter Raymond reports which described the situation thus:

Miner's Delight, or Hamilton City, is in a more prosperous condition than either of the two last-mentioned camps. In fact, no diminution of its population is discernible.

The old Miners' Delight mill has been idle during the last year for most of the time, but at present a force of men are taking quartz from the mine, which, it is estimated, will yield \$20 per ton.

The Hartley mine, the west extension of the Miners' Delight, has been improved during the past year by the erection of a fine 20-stamp mill and hoisting works. A test run was made before the erection of the mill of 30 tons, yielding \$30 per ton.

The East End Miners' Delight, consisting of 800 feet, owned by R. W. Shawhan, of Tiffin, Ohio, has also been improved by the erection of a fine 20-stamp mill and hoisting works, with 6-inch cornish pump, all run by one 40-horse-power engine. This mine is now in full operation, and shows a quartz vein of from 2 to 5 feet in width. The rock yields from \$8 to \$15 per ton. Cost of mining and milling, superintendent's salary included, \$6 per ton.

The gulch mines were vigorously worked during 1872, giving employment to about one hundred men, and yielding upon an average \$8 per day to the man. Cost of wood, delivered, \$3.50 per cord; miner's wages, \$4 per day; mechanics, \$5 per day.

The above shows that the amount of development so far is not large, yet it must be remembered that this region has had no benefit of

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100. Raymond, *op. cit.*

101. Bonds, Agreements and Contracts, BLM Roll #3, Carter County Records.

102. County Court Docket in BLM Oil Shale Project films.

working capital, each mine being dependent upon its yield for its subsequent development.<sup>103</sup>

The year 1870 saw the departure of some of the old placer miners, lured away to participate in the expedition from Cheyenne to the Montana country. With them went Henry Comstock (of Comstock Lode legend) who had spent the period 1868-1870 in the Miner's Delight area.<sup>104</sup> He was probably the community's most nationally-known citizen. At this point however, beset by "enough debilities for three ordinary men,"<sup>105</sup> he was down on his luck. Things did not improve for "Pancake Comstock" in Montana, and he committed suicide that year in Bozeman.<sup>106</sup>

The 1874 fiscal year report of the Secretary of the Interior is noncommittal and guardedly optimistic at best about the situation on the Sweetwater mines. It gave more attention to the new discoveries on the Clark's Fork in Montana, the latest in a series of rushes that steadily drew prospectors away from South Pass.<sup>107</sup>

Mining at Miners Delight became still more clearly marginal by 1877. Dr. F. M. Endlich of the Hayden surveys headquartered that summer at Camp Stambaugh, and made several visits to the area. He says:

"Comparatively little vein-mining is carried on here at present, as heretofore the gulches have yielded a good deal of gold. Miner's Delight Mine is the only one worked at the present time. The entire claim is separated into three divisions, which have received special names.

#### *Young America*

This mine forms the eastern extension of the vein. . . . A mill with 20 stamps crushes the ore obtained from this portion of the vein. It is said to run about \$15 to \$20 per ton; but richer ore is expected in some new openings.

#### *Miner's Delight*

The middle portion of the vein has received this name. . . . A shaft 145 feet in depth has been sunk, and some interior developments have been made. At the time of my visit, buildings and machinery upon the surface had been completed and it was stated that work would soon be actively resumed.

#### *Western Extension*

This is the third portion of the entire vein. It is not worked at present. Upon the vein a shaft has been sunk 100 feet in depth. A 20-stamp

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103. House Executive Documents, No. 151, 3d Session 42nd Congress, 1872-1873.

104. See references to Comstock in the Records of the California Mining District, *ibid.*; also: schedule of the 1870 Census for Hamilton City.

105. T. A. Rickard, *op. cit.*

106. Topping, *op. cit.*

107. *Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1874.* (Washington: GPO, 1875).

mill located on the premises formerly crushed the ore, but now lies idle. . . .”

Relative the placers, Endlich comments:

In the neighborhood of this town numbers of gulches have been and are worked. Prominent among them is Spring Gulch. The gravel is rather coarse, loosely cemented, and contains an appreciable quantity of coarse gold. It is stated that miners here wash out \$6 to \$7 per day. All the work is carried on, on a comparatively small scale. Other placers that have been worked in this vicinity are Meadow, Promise, Irish, and Beaver Gulches. Horace Gulch is considered as one of great promise. Twin Gulch is supplied with water by a ditch several miles in length, and is said to yield good results.

From the observations which I made while examining this region, I am persuaded that a large amount of gold exists in the various deposits of drift and dirt. It seems, however, that the washing of small quantities, with an insufficient supply of water, prevents the gulches from proving generally remunerative. Were it possible to obtain an adequate water-supply, and to carry on the work on a large scale during the entire length of the open season, I have no doubt that placer-mining would here be a paying operation. The gold which we find so widely distributed has been carried downward from the more elevated regions. It has collected in all such places where we would generally expect to find either fluviatile or local glacial drift. So far as can be determined, the original places of deposition of the metal are to be looked for in the outcrops of auriferous veins. Decomposition has set the gold free there, and erosive agents have removed it to such localities where it could most conveniently accumulate.<sup>108</sup>

The old mining camps languished and declined steadily for a few more years. The 1880 census was taken June 1. On that date the population of the community was 45! Of these 31 were men. Nineteen of the men were miners, one an engineer, one a painter, one a blacksmith, two were laborers, and two were teamsters. Men engaged in work clearly not directly related to mining were the inevitable saloonkeeper, one storekeeper, two stage drivers, and one stage stock tender. *Not a very lively place!*<sup>109</sup>

It was likely a place filled with hopeful rumors, however. For on May 7, 1880, there arrived “a mining man” named William Clemens, from Utah. Clemens came to make an examination of the Miner’s Delight property on behalf of Adam Kuhn, an Ogden businessman. Clemens gives a physical description of the property. He performed extensive computations upon the underground workings, and states that 58,400 feet of the mine had been worked. Projecting the existing digging to 400 feet, he forecast that an additional 261,600 feet were available to that depth. Clemens estimated that the gross take to that date from the mine was

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108. F. M. Endlich in Hayden, *U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories of Idaho and Wyoming*, 1877 pp. 146-147.

109. 1880 census schedule, Miner’s Delight, Wyoming Territory.

\$400,000, and called attention to estimates of men who had worked there, of \$500,000 to \$600,000. On simple pro rata basis, he concluded that working the mine to the 400 foot level would yield a gross product of \$1,396,890.

Clemens suggested to Kuhn that if he were to reopen the mine, he favored extending it to the 400 foot level, and then running 2800 feet of drifts to accomplish this. He forecast a yield of over \$130,000 from the ore directly thus obtained during development.<sup>110</sup>

Based on the Clemens report, Adam Kuhn and others in Ogden, New York, and Boston bought the Miner's Delight mine. They then organized the Hub Gold Mining Company, as a Maine corporation, with non-assessable stock. They set up a rather intricate scheme for controlling stock sales to avoid the stock speculation that had plagued many eastern mining investors. Kuhn was appointed resident agent and mine superintendent, with offices in Ogden. Clemens was hired as "Assistant Superintendent and practical manager."<sup>111</sup>

Adam Kuhn "owing to sickness" went to Europe for the winter of 1880-1881. Clemens procured supplies and tools and early in March, 1881, went to Miner's Delight to set up operations. Then their troubles started!<sup>112</sup>

On pumping out the lower levels of the mine, it was found that the workings needed re-timbering. The machinery proved to be in worse condition than Clemens had expected. As the situation at the mine worsened, Mr. Kuhn took another trip to Europe, while the directors sent out representatives to see what was going on.<sup>113</sup>

They found still more problems with machinery. They made a number of tests on samples of ore, which gave very encouraging results. Later events proved that if the test ore was not "salted," then it was at least selected from some of the specimen and jewelry ore the mine was capable of turning out in small quantities on occasion. Based on the reports of these tests, and progress with the machinery, they recommended additional work on the mine. The company sold more stock, and borrowed money, too. Work continued through the winter, and milling of ore started on February 5, 1882. The run and cleanup were completed on March 15, and the word went out on the 16th that 443 tons of ore

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110. Report of William Clemens on the Miner's Delight Mine, May 12, 1880, in *Report of the Directors of the Hub Gold Mining Company to the Stockholders*, Boston, May 1, 1882, pp. 4-6.

111. *Report of the Directors*, *ibid.*, p. 1, and pp. 7-10, Directors' Statement.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 11

yielded only \$4200!<sup>114</sup> Clemens nevertheless recommended continuing the work. The company ordered work stopped immediately and again sent Mr. Charles Richards to investigate. He summarized:

The whole affair, as demonstrated by sad experience, has been an exaggeration of fair wealth into bonanza wealth, an over confidence in others' judgements, and too much reliance upon our ore test of last summer. These rich specimens, and such specimens occasionally come from the mine today, but not so frequently as they did last summer.<sup>115</sup>

The total work accomplished other than repairing and adding to the machinery, was sinking the shaft 58 feet, a winze of 36 feet, and extending 684 square feet of drifts. They had expended \$82,561 over and above the cost of the mine, and had received about \$4,000 worth of ore as a result.<sup>116</sup> Thus ended the Hub fiasco. There is no evidence that they ever reopened operations, although Kuhn maintained an interest in the area, and in 1886 had the property resurveyed and filed on all surrounding abandoned claims himself.<sup>117</sup>

Other mines in the region had their ups and downs, mostly downs, over this same period, but the Miner's Delight group of mines saw no new activity until well after the turn of the century. Professor Wilbur C. Knight of the University of Wyoming said in 1901:

Since 1877 until recently this district has been anything but prosperous. Each year some of the mines would work a small force of men, but most of them have been continuously idle. Occasionally the spell has been broken by some promoter visiting the camps and securing a bond on a mine, and in a few cases some money has been spent in un-watering and opening up old shafts and drifts, but all of this kind of work availed nothing . . .<sup>118</sup>

It appears that after some litigation following the Hub Mining Company affair, the property wound up back in the hands of Kuhn and some of his Ogden associates. They engaged Professor E. C. Lindeman to examine the property. Lindeman delivered a glowing report covering the entire group of holdings, now up to some 136 acres via Kuhn's locations and relocations of the 1880's.<sup>119</sup>

E. C. Bartlett and William Sturgis prepared a development

114. *Ibid.*, p. 17

115. Richards report, *ibid.*, p. 20.

116. Financial statements appended to above report, balance sheets, May 1, 1882.

117. Survey plate and claim notices in BLM files.

118. Wilbur C. Knight, Bulletin #5, Wyoming University School of Mines, *The Sweetwater Mining District, Fremont County, Wyoming*, Laramie, 1901

119. E. C. Lindemann, unpublished report, BLM files.

proposal for the property,<sup>120</sup> and obtained the support of Senator Clarence D. Clark, a Richard C. Adams of Washington, D. C., and Edmund J. Wells. They bought the property and organized the Miner's Delight Mining Company.<sup>121</sup> They solicited the opinion of state mine inspector Noah Young, who claimed to have worked in the mine in its early days.<sup>122</sup> Young, like many Wyoming mining men before and after his time told them just what they wanted to hear. His report is perhaps the most flamboyant set of exaggerations we have examined about the mine, coupled with several curiously cautionary passages.<sup>123</sup>

Wells went out to manage the mining operations. During the eight months between April and December of 1907, the firm expended over \$27,000 directly on the mine. Their balance sheet shows that they were handling their books in essentially the same fashion as the Hub Company had, i.e., capitalizing the old machinery and equipment and buildings at a value that probably exceeded its market value appreciably.<sup>124</sup> They mined no ore during 1907, but simply got ready to mine. They planned to spend about \$4,800 in additional equipment and fixtures in the spring of 1908.<sup>125</sup>

The company found that the use of wood for boiler fuel was now impracticable, as the cost was up to \$6 to \$7 per cord. Exploring alternative fuels, they found that oil from the newly-developed Popo Agie oil fields would be the cheapest boiler fuel. Pushing further into this area of the business, it is reported that the company purchased oil land, commenced drilling their own well. They also studied the potential market for electric power, and explored the possibility of developing a sizeable power plant to serve the entire mining region.<sup>126</sup>

We have not been able to determine precisely what happened to the Miner's Delight Mining Company, but it is evident they were far extended in operations that would have required much development capital. This occurred at a time when the country was in a severe depression (1907 panic). In 1914, the state geologist's office said:

"At the other end of the district, is the Old Miner's Delight

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120. E. C. Bartlett and William Sturgis, unpublished report and development proposal, BLM files.

121. Unpublished report by E. C. Bartlett and William Sturgis, BLM files.

122. E. J. Wells, "Report on the Miner's Delight Mine . . ." Nov. 25, 1907, BLM files.

123. Noah Young to E. J. Wells, March 23, 1907, quoted in Wells report above.

124. Financial statements appended to Wells report.

125. Cost projections for 1908, accompanying Wells report.

126. Henry C. Bealer, *A Brief Review of the South Pass Gold District*, Laramie, 1908

property with a similar record, but idle for years, and now full of water, so that no examination can be made."<sup>127</sup>

The townsite at Miner's Delight underwent these same cycles of decline, redevelopment and abandonment that accompanied the fate of the major mines close by. It also served as a base for the increasingly marginal placer work in the area. In common with the rest of the district, the last real influx of individual placer miners to these smaller gulches came in the period of 1932-1936, when the lack of job opportunities occasioned by the depression, coupled with the rise in gold prices in 1935 brought many jobless persons who could raise some kind of meagre stake to the district. Here they lived as squatters in the abandoned cabins, and panned a little with available water in season. Most of their occupancy was seasonal, and in all, the sort of community a Steinbeck might best describe.<sup>128</sup> Not only had the gravel in the best locations been handled many times since the 1860s, but manpower even at depression costs could not effectively handle gravel that in the best and biggest gulches yielded around 12 to 20 cents per cubic yard.<sup>129</sup>

Careful study of the early geological reports and the Hub Gold Mining Company, along with Adam Kuhn's surveys, and the reports of E. J. Wells and others of the 1907 period all make it possible to secure a fairly coherent picture of the structural evolution/decline sequence at Miner's Delight Mine. The whole group of mines here sat abandoned from 1882 to 1907, and was virtually in ruins when Wells first arrived (see his reports, cited above). Consequently, we doubt if any of the mining structures themselves date earlier than 1907.

We believe this to be the case for the most part at the town site, with one notable exception. The exception is the so-called "Bryant Cabin", building No. C on Pierson's ground plan of the site.<sup>130</sup> We now believe that this may be one of the buildings from Camp Stambaugh, probably the bakery, blacksmith shop, or carpenter shop. These buildings as shown on the Camp Stambaugh ground plans all had the right approximate dimensions. The "Bryant Cabin" is made of logs-in-panels, using work techniques typical of the army buildings of the period. We now know that two other Camp Stambaugh structures were for many years located at Miner's Delight. These are the two buildings, much remodeled, on Mrs. Obert's property in Lander. By comparison with the Camp

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127. L. W. Trumbull, *Atlantic City Gold Mining District*, Fremont County, State Geologist's Office, Bulletin 7, Series B, Laramie, 1914.

128. It seems notable that this era appears to have contributed the largest number of the "beached" automobiles and related period trash that survives in the area today.

129. Fischer Company Report, *op. cit.*

130. Lloyd M. Pierson, "South Pass Historical Area Building Stabilization," unpublished report in BLM files, August 7, 1970

Stambaugh data, they are the commissary storehouse and the quartermaster storehouse. The sale of these buildings at Camp Stambaugh came but a month before the known beginnings of actual operations on the Hub reopening of the Miner's Delight mine.<sup>131</sup> We believe that storekeeper James Kime, or other parties may have bought these three structures and reassembled them at Miner's Delight.

We have carefully checked the Hub Gold Mining Company structures against the Stambaugh plans, and do not believe that they represent relocations of the Stambaugh buildings, as none of the dimensions match. It is entirely conceivable, however, that logs from some of the Stambaugh structures may have been used in some of the Hub Company construction activity here.

Since the Hub Gold Mining Company's steam power plants used wood for fuel, it is entirely possible that many Camp Stambaugh structures went through the fireboxes of Hub Company boilers!<sup>132</sup>

Over the past few years, the structures and ruins on the Miner's Delight townsite have come into federal ownership, administered by the Bureau of Land Management. To date, the 1907 remnants from the Miner's Delight mine are still in private ownership. In either case today's visitors should take care not to deface or damage the structures that remain as the sole visible link with a long and varied history of mining development in this part of Wyoming's back country.

#### NOTES ON SOURCES

During the late summer of 1971, the writer's business firm, Western Interpretive Services, was privileged to be able to participate in long-range planning for the Bureau of Land Management's projected South Pass Historic Mining area, a multiple use recreation-development. During the course of these studies much new historical material on the Miner's Delight community came to light, and we felt it was worth presenting here.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Bob Saunders, of the BLM's Cheyenne office, Mr. Frank Pallo and members of his staff at the Lander District office, to Mr. Tom Nicholas of Casper, and to my own capable assistant, William R. Barnhart of Cheyenne.

South Pass history holds a number of challenging possibilities for the scholar. The old land records in the collections of the Western History Research Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie are a particularly important resource.

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131. Camp Stambaugh ground plans from National Archives, copies at Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department and at Western Interpretive Services.

132. See Camp Stambaugh notes on sale of buildings.

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Advertisement

*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, July, 1899

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Prof. Campson F. Scribner, chief of the grassology division of the Agricultural Department, who has been visiting the ranges of the West this season, says the ranges are badly overstocked and there has been a great deterioration of grass upon them. Upon the advice of Prof. Scribner, Secretary Wilson, in his next annual report, will recommend that the Government cease the policy of allowing free grazing and substitute a system of leases. As an incentive to leasing, the lessee will be given the preference in purchase when the land is sold. Secretary Wilson's idea of the leasing question was expressed by him in a recent interview in which he said:

"The policy of leasing the grazing lands of the West by states cannot but operate very beneficially, and would eliminate much of the trouble over the range question. Let the title remain in the Federal Government by all means, but give the state the use of the lands—i.e., the money which would be derived from their rental. It would be a dangerous move to give the land itself to the states, because before long there would be neither state or government land; but if it is simply a question of the State disposing of the annual income from rentals, a proper system of expenditures would soon become established."

*Wyoming Industrial Journal*, September, 1899

# *Economic Warfare on the Northern Plains*

*By*

TONY MCGINNIS

A little-discussed area in the study of the American West is the warfare between the Indian tribes. Yet, it is difficult to understand the Indian or his relations with whites, without recognizing one of the primary elements of existence among those tribes—the constant intertribal warfare. American Indian nations battled each other, not only for economic or protective reasons, but because in their societies a man's worth, to a great extent, was measured by his courage and daring in combat.

The case of the Crow, or Absaroka Nation, and its warfare with surrounding tribes, which dates well back into the 18th century, provides an example of both the peculiarities of Indian fighting and its sociological and economic foundations. Of primary importance in the struggle of the Crows was the land they occupied. Its quality and abundance caused it to be the focus of conflicts more serious than traditional intertribal raiding parties. The position of the Crows for the first three-quarters of the 19th century was one of fighting to maintain their territory. In the end, as settlers filled up the last areas of the West, the Crows came very near to losing all of their land to the Sioux, who were sometimes aided in this endeavor by the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Through the years this small tribe managed to hold on to all or most of its country against overwhelming odds. The position of the Crows seems to have been a rather unique one because of their particularly rich land. This territory was encircled by many enemies. It is probable that the conquest of the hostile Indians by the whites preserved the Crows from annihilation by the other tribes.

In order to understand the wars of the Crows it is first necessary to distinguish between their way of fighting and that of conventional warfare as exemplified by more advanced nations. The Earl of Dunraven, an Englishman visiting the West in 1874, gave a good general picture of the principles of Indian fighting:

Judged by our standards, the Indians are as a rule cowards, and we suppose therefore that they must be convinced of our superiority in courage. Not a bit of it. They look upon our bravery as the height of folly, and find us lacking entirely in those great qualities they so

much admire. We cannot endure the tortures of physical pain or starve as they can. Their mode of carrying on war is quite dissimilar to ours, and they do not appreciate that desperate, bull-dog courage that leads a soldier to struggle to the bitter end against overpowering odds; nor do they highly esteem a man who is ready at all times to sacrifice his life for the cause. On the contrary they would regard such an [sic] one as a fool who had parted with a valuable commodity, namely his life, without obtaining an adequate return for it.

Dunraven went on to stress the value of life to the Crows, who had to have men to supply food and defend the tribe. Only occasionally, he said, did they mass great numbers and risk losses in order to destroy the enemy. Rather, the tendency was to uphold the individual who could bring glory to himself and his people by his own actions in the face of the enemy.<sup>1</sup>

The individual and his accomplishments as a warrior were a very important part of tribal life. The Crow chief, Plenty-coups, and Zenas Leonard, a fur trader who was often among the Crows, both emphasized the molding of the young boy into his life as a warrior. The greater part of his interest in growing up was the continual rivalry involved in his preparation for a life of confronting skilled adversaries.<sup>2</sup>

The Crows, although a small tribe, were of warlike character. James Beckwourth, the mountain man who lived among them for years, noted that the excitement of war was the temperament that best suited them.<sup>3</sup> Captain Benjamin Bonneville was the leader of a combined expedition to the west in the 1830s, both for trading and gaining military information. He gave a description of the Crows that exemplified the usual observations of the time, finding them generally a savage and violent tribe.<sup>4</sup>

Despite this aggressive nature, there is evidence of a tendency on the part of the tribe to maintain a defensive position and try to avoid large-scale battles that proved costly to the all-important supply of men. In 1805, the Canadian fur trader, Francois

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1. The Earl of Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (second edition; revised; London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), pp. 110-112.

2. Frank B. Linderman, *Plenty-coups, Chief of the Crows* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962; 1930), pp. 8-9 and John C. Ewers (ed.), *Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Fur Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), pp. 142-143.

3. Charles G. Leland (ed.), *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, Pioneer and Chief of the Crow Nation; Written from His Dictation by T. D. Bonner* (New York: MacMillan & Company, 1892), p. 256.

4. Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A.*, edited by Edgeley W. Todd (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 33.

Larocque, wrote that the Crows seldom went to war, but when they did fight, they stayed mostly on the defensive.<sup>5</sup> Dunraven found the tribe not usually prone to fighting wars.<sup>6</sup> Edwin Denig, a western trader who wrote an excellent study of the Crows in the 1850s, maintained that it was always the other tribe, not the Absaroka, that broke peace agreements.<sup>7</sup>

Evidently the Crow warriors held some repute as skilled and courageous combatants. The Jesuit missionary, Father Pierre De Smet, observed that the tribe was "considered as the most warlike and valient [sic]."<sup>8</sup> Although a basic policy of defense was maintained, small war parties were dispatched; in the early part of the 1800s the nation was said to be the only one daring enough to go north to attack the Blackfoot Tribe. Beckwourth, although most of his praise was directed toward himself, found the Crows to be good individual fighters. Particularly was this true on horseback where they were the most expert of all the tribes. On horses, Beckwourth claimed, they were more than a match for any other Plains warriors.<sup>9</sup>

One of the primary reasons underlying the continuous hostilities between the Crows and other tribes was the importance of horses. The nomadic Indians of the Great Plains depended greatly upon the horse for use in hunting, transportation, and war. In short, horses constituted a major part of the wealth of these tribes.

An important pastime of the Crows, as with the other tribes of their area, was horse stealing. In 1853 Indian Agent Alfred Vaughan described it as their principal object in life and something for which any risk was taken.<sup>10</sup> The Crows were notorious as skilled horse thieves. Denig, in 1856, described horse stealing as a principal cause for "continued war." There were constant raids in which lives were lost, revenge fulfilled, and horses shifted from tribe to tribe.<sup>11</sup> Stealing horses, then, seems to have been an economic cause for war, as well as a test of skill and courage.

The feelings expressed by Beckwourth on the Crow horsemanship were echoed by many observers. Larocque found that they

5. L. J. Burpee (ed.), *Journal of Larocque, From the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805*. Publication of the Canadian Archives No. 3 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910), p. 65.

6. Dunraven, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

7. Edwin Thompson Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, edited by John C. Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 152.

8. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson (eds.), *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J. 1801-1873*, III (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), p. 1035.

9. Leland, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

10. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853. *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 1, Part I, 33 Cong., 1 Sess. (Series 690), p. 355.

11. Denig, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145.

could perform any feat on horseback, having been trained from early childhood in that endeavor.<sup>12</sup> Bonneville stated that they were the best horsemen of all the tribes.<sup>13</sup> It is evident that the Crows' expert use of the horse helped them to compete for years against enemy tribes that outnumbered them.

It is important to remember the struggles of the Crows as a way of life. The economic overtones of the Crows' wars were of primary importance, but the cultural aspect of the fighting must not be ignored. Glorifying conflict with the enemy was not only an integral part of manhood, it was also a challenging athletic endeavor. In short, warfare was bred into the Crow character by a long history of social tradition, as was the case of most primitive Indian tribes.

The territory around the upper portion of the Yellowstone River was always alluded to by travelers and observers as the "Crow country." By the very fact of its being referred to so often, it gains a distinction in the reader's mind. This land inhabited by the Crows, because of its location and wealth in game and other necessities for existence, was much coveted by the surrounding tribes. From the description attributed to the Crow Chief Arapooish during the 1830s, one can understand why these people were determined to hold on to their land. He pointed out that the Crow country was ideally situated and that when one left it, no matter in what direction, some benefits of the land were lost, whether they were game, water, or climate. The territory of the Crows combined both the advantages of the mountains and the plains.<sup>14</sup>

The boundaries of an area inhabited by a nomadic people are difficult to determine precisely, but general limits can be established. Denig attributed a large territory to the Crows.

The country usually inhabited by them is through the Rocky Mountains, along the heads of Powder River, Wind River, and Big Horn, on the south side of the Yellowstone, as far as Laramie's Fork on the River Platte. They also are frequently found on the west and north side of that river as far as the head of the Muscleshell River and as far down as the mouth of the Yellowstone.<sup>15</sup>

In 1826, General Henry Atkinson and, in 1840, Father De Smet, both found the Crow district to include the present Black Hills of South Dakota.<sup>16</sup> Although the tribe roamed over this vast region,

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12. Burpee, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

13. Irving, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

15. Denig, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

16. Letter from the Secretary of War Respecting the Movements of the Expedition Which Lately Ascended the Missouri River, 1826. *House Doc.* 117, 19 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 11; and Chittenden, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 238-239.

the central part of its land seems to have been the area centering on the river basins of the Yellowstone, Powder, Big Horn, Tongue and Rosebud Rivers. Perhaps more specifically the Big Horn River area was the heart of the region; according to the legend of creation, the valley of the Big Horn was especially set aside for the Crows by the Great Spirit.

The richness of the Crow lands was confirmed and reiterated by travelers from the early 1800s through the 1870s. As early as 1805, Canadian fur traders of the Northwest Company were excited about them for possible fur trapping, when they heard "that beavers were numerous in their rivers as buffaloes and other large animals were in their plains or meadows. . . ."<sup>17</sup> William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was told by Missouri River Indians about the Big Horn River area, which was said to abound in buffalo, elk, deer and antelope.<sup>18</sup> In 1856 Indian Agent Alfred Vaughan gave the Crow country high praise in describing the great abundance of different types of game, wild fruit and vegetables, good grass, water, and wood. Significantly, he went on to say that, "no country I have yet examined seems to me more adapted to the wild Indian than this."<sup>19</sup> Captain James Stuart, in his Yellowstone expedition of 1863, was astonished at the abundance of game, and noted, "No wonder the Crows like their country; it is a perfect paradise for a hunter."<sup>20</sup> As late as the 1870s, when white buffalo-hunters were scouring the plains for those beasts, there were references to the abundance of game in the Crow land.

This great wealth of the land they inhabited set the stage for the "fate" of the Crows. They were to fight continuously to control it for more than 70 years of the 19th century. In addition to this period of war, the Crows spoke of many years of conflict previous to the coming of the white man.

Father De Smet found the Indians of the Upper Missouri to be quite violent compared to other tribes, and involved in constant warfare among themselves.<sup>21</sup> Due to the ambiguous nature of Indian warfare, one cannot trace the Crows' exact positions of

17. Charles MacKenzie, "The Mississouri [sic] Indians, Narrative of Four Trading Expeditions to the Mississouri, 1804-1805-1806," in L. R. Masson's *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Norde-ouest* I (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1960), p. 341.

18. Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804-1806*, V, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1904), p. 297.

19. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part I, 34 Cong., 3 Sess. (Serial 893), p. 633.

20. "The Yellowstone Expedition of 1863," *CHSM* I (Helena: Independent Publishing Company, 1876), pp. 156-157.

21. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, II, p. 628.

conflict and neutrality with other peoples. There were certain tribes with which the Crows were always in conflict. With others, warfare and peace were constantly changing variables. Nevertheless the Crows were at war with a great many different tribes, some of whom outnumbered them considerably. Geographically, the tribe was effectively surrounded by aggressors. According to their legend of the creation, the Crows were placed, by the Great Spirit, "in the midst of their enemies, because their hearts were strong."<sup>22</sup>

The following list of tribes, who fought against the Crows at one time or another, gives an idea of the magnitude of the forces facing the latter: the Arikara; the Nez Perces; the Cree; the Bannocks; the Blackfeet, who also included the Piegan and the Bloods; the Shoshoni; the Flatheads; the Assiniboin; the Gros Ventres of the Prairies; the Sioux; the Northern Cheyenne; and the Arapaho. Even the distant Pawnee were raided on occasion. This list does not presuppose that the Crows were constantly fighting all of these tribes. On the contrary, some tribes were engaged more than others because of their proximity, or the traditional hostility or hatred felt toward them. In addition, there were often peace agreements and even trading with potential enemies.

Two groups of opponents, which most often fought the Crows and were substantial threats to their sovereignty, were of most importance. To the north and west were the Blackfeet, joined by the Bloods and the Piegan. To the south and east were the Sioux, aided by the Cheyenne and the Arapaho.<sup>23</sup> De Smet maintained that each of these tribes, along with the Assiniboin and Cree, were continually invading Crow country. Each nation outnumbered the Crows, so that, as the Jesuit said in 1854, their manpower had been greatly diminished in the past ten years.<sup>24</sup> The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, in certain instances, effected some manner of peace among the Indians of the Upper Missouri. However, the Blackfeet and the Sioux continued to fight, primarily, it seems, against the Crows.

Before the middle of the 1800s, when the Sioux came to be the major threat to the Crows, the Blackfeet were the latter's unrelenting antagonists. The war between the two tribes was a hereditary and bloody conflict, to which fuel was continually added by periodic excursions against one another and consequent desires for revenge. In 1856, Denig described the Crow feeling toward the Blackfeet in the following manner: ". . . the Crows are solicitous for peace with all tribes except the Blackfeet, with whom they wish to be at war as long as one of them remains."<sup>25</sup> As late as the

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22. "Bradley Manuscript, Book F," *CHSM* VIII, p. 211.

23. Denig, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

24. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 1036-1037.

25. Denig, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, when the Crows and Blackfeet were on reservations and supposedly at peace, there were still incidents of hostilities between them.

While mentioning the Sioux as enemies of the Crow Nation, one must also include the Northern Cheyenne and the Arapaho, who ultimately joined the Sioux in dispossessing the Crows of much of their land. As early as 1804 William Clark reported that the Absaroka fought against both the Sioux and the Cheyenne.<sup>26</sup> In 1822 the same two tribes were apparently responsible for an attack on a Crow village, in which the latter sustained a considerable loss—one from which the tribe never recovered.<sup>27</sup> With the 1850s came a steady increase in Sioux encroachment on Crow territory. Then, in the 1860s and 1870s this situation was magnified, because the Sioux were being pushed westward by the movement of white settlers into the West; therefore they ran into the Crows. The Sioux, as a permanent force, were latecomers to the Upper Missouri's intertribal conflict over buffalo. Although the Crows had fought the Sioux for years, the truly decisive battle with that tribe did not begin until after the mid-nineteenth century.

From around 1860 to almost 1880, were trying years for the Crows as they fought desperately against the incoming hordes of Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The numerical superiority of the Sioux alone was overwhelming. John Finerty, a war correspondent for the *Chicago Times*, in 1876 estimated the number of Sioux warriors at 5000. Although his complete accuracy may be doubtful, he went on to state that the Sioux, combined with the Cheyenne, "were more than a match for all the other tribes combined. . . ."<sup>28</sup> At this time the Crow population was 3300, being able to field 900 warriors.<sup>29</sup>

It is easy to see why Thomas Leforge, a man who lived a good part of his life with the Crows, recalled that "a coup counted upon, or a scalp taken from, a Sioux or a Cheyenne conferred the highest credit upon the victorious warrior."<sup>30</sup> Plenty-coups maintained

26. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 130, 189.

27. "Journal of James H. Bradley, 1876," *CHSM* II (Helena: State Publishing Company, 1896), p. 179. The number of Crows killed in the battle was given to Bradley as 5000. Although this figure is completely unrealistic, that the tribe did suffer a significant loss is reasonable, as the story was mentioned by other Crows.

28. John F. Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961; 1890), p. 13.

29. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 46 Cong., 2 Sess. (Serial 1910), p. 198.

30. Marquis (ed.), *White Crow*, p. 43; Robert H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1935), p. 216: defines coup as, "The touching of an enemy—whether he was hurt or not . . ." This is the narrow definition of the term. It was sometimes used in general to refer to feats in battle.

that the bravest of the Crows' enemies were the Striped-feathered-arrows, or Cheyenne, with the Flatheads being second.<sup>31</sup> Finerty found the Crows reinforcing General Crook's campaign of 1876, to have "a wholesome respect for Sioux prowess."<sup>32</sup>

As has been noted, the Crows, particularly in later years, seemed to maintain a defensive posture in regard to the costly, revengeful wars of attrition. Although the Absaroka Nation was warlike in character, often taking the offensive, this seemed to manifest itself primarily in small raiding parties. Any large battles were usually fought in the tribe's own territory, after it was invaded. Due to their small numbers, the Crows could not afford many large-scale forays into enemy country.

This defensive policy appears evident for some years before the final onslaught of the Sioux. The Lewis and Clark Journals noted that the tribe was engaged in "a defensive war with the Sioux, and Assiniboins, and the Ricas."<sup>33</sup> In 1805 Francois Larocque wrote:

The fear of some of their neighbors with whom they are at war compels them to that [living together], as collectively they can repulse a greater party of their enemies, than when divided into small bands; though at such seasons [*sic!*] as they are not liable to be attacked, they part for a short while.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri relied solely on hunting, primarily buffalo, for their livelihood. While in search of the buffalo, encroachment on territory claimed by others was quite common. In 1849 Father De Smet referred to these incursions as common to all the tribes, including the Crows, and the cause of endless and bloody warfare that was gradually diminishing the different peoples.<sup>35</sup> Zenas Leonard, in 1834, wrote in the same vein, referring to the scarcity of game in different areas causing the movement of tribes, which led to strife among them. John Ewers, the editor of Leonard's Journal, went on to note that the Crows were in the greatest danger because of their position between the Blackfeet on the north and the Sioux on the east.<sup>36</sup> Captain Bonneville wrote of the Crow country as the best buffalo country in the world, and that the Crow Nation was often in conflict with the Pawnee, Arikara, Arapaho, and Blackfeet, while trying to defend it.<sup>37</sup> Lieutenant James Bradley stated that the Crows seldom left their own land, but waited there in order to attack

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31. Linderman, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

32. Finerty, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

33. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 103.

34. Burpee, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

35. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 1188-1189.

36. Ewers, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

37. Irving, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-384.

invaders.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the Crow country seems to have been most often the battlefield of these warring peoples.

The 1850s heralded more enemy movement into Crow land and an ever increasing conflict over hunting grounds. De Smet spoke of "continual excursions" of Sioux, Assiniboin, and Blackfoot war parties throughout the territory.<sup>39</sup> In 1885 Agent Vaughan reported the failure to deliver government annuity goods to the Crows due to the encroachments of Sioux war parties.<sup>40</sup> One can see that the Crows greatly feared the power of the Sioux. Contemporary with Vaughan's statement, however, James Chambers, a trader at Fort Sarpy, observed that, although the Crows feared the Sioux, they were still foolish enough to venture out in raids against this hostile foe.<sup>41</sup>

The Absaroka Nation, existing in a state of continuous warfare, was in danger of annihilation at an early date, even before the great wars with the Sioux in the 1860s and 1870s. Already, in 1832, the artist George Catlin told of the Crows being "cut to pieces" by the Blackfeet and Sioux and "their former great strength destroyed."<sup>42</sup> Also in the 1830s, Captain Bonneville numbered the warriors at about 1500, but added that the wars with the Blackfeet were gradually taking their toll.<sup>43</sup> Edwin Denig, around the middle of the century, gave the most pessimistic forecast—that the Crows would eventually become extinct from war and disease:

Situated as they now are, the Crows cannot exist as a nation. Without adequate supplies of arms and ammunition, warred against by the Blackfeet on one side and most bands of Sioux on the other, straying along the Platte trail where they contract rapid and deadly diseases, together with the unnatural customs of destroying their offspring, will soon lead to their entire extinction. Or if a few remain they will become robbers and freebooters on any and all persons passing through the solitary regions of the Rocky Mountains.

The editor of Denig's work, John Ewers, appended this statement, noting that he had talked to some Blood and Piegan Indians in the 1940s who maintained that the Crows would have been wiped out by the Blackfeet and the Sioux if the United States Government had not ended intertribal warfare.<sup>44</sup>

By the 1860s the tribes of the Upper Missouri were settled on

38. "Bradley Manuscript, Book 2," *CHSM*, VIII, p. 154.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 665.

40. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 1*, Part 1, 34 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 810), p. 395.

41. "Original Journal of James H. Chambers, Fort Sarpy," *CHSM*, X (Helena: Naegele Printing Co., 1940), p. 100.

42. George Catlin, *Episodes from Life Among the Indians and Last Rambles* edited by Marvin C. Ross (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), pp. 148-149.

43. Irving, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

44. Denig, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

reservations. The warfare between the Crow and their enemies seemed to slow down a bit, all except that with the Blackfeet and particularly the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. These tribes swept into the Yellowstone country and gave certain veracity to the possibility of Crow extinction.

The period from around 1860 to 1868 was a major turning point for the Crow people. The United States Peace Commission of 1868, formed to put an end to the Powder River War, gave the rich hunting grounds around the Powder River to the Sioux. This area, by an earlier Fort Laramie treaty, had been partially Crow land and partially Sioux. By the time this land was ceded to the latter, however, they had already grabbed it for themselves by gradually driving the Crows back almost to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River.

Early in the 1860s, the Sioux and their allies pushed across the Powder and Tongue Rivers. While the "River" division of the Crows was not threatened to a great extent, the Mountain Crows, further south, found themselves confined, for the most part, to the land around the Big Horn and Little Big Horn Rivers.<sup>45</sup> Here they were also hemmed in by the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegan to the north. In these years the Crows can be visualized as often being concerned primarily with avoiding their enemies. The trader Henry Boller, in 1860, mentioned a Crow band going south to the Wind River Mountains in order to escape meeting either the Sioux or the Blackfeet.<sup>46</sup> Five years later, Upper Missouri Indian Agent Mahlon Wilkinson reported that the whole Crow Nation was as far north as the Milk River, trying to avoid the Sioux.<sup>47</sup> The reason for the Sioux and Cheyenne invasion was given by a chief of the latter tribe in a council with Colonel Henry Carrington, in 1866:

The Sioux helped us. We stole the hunting grounds of the Crows because they were the best. The white man is along the great water and we wanted more room. We fight the Crows, because they will not take half and give us peace with the other half.<sup>48</sup>

The Sioux certainly won a great victory from the Powder River War, by the removal of the three army forts in the area and by

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45. Most early sources do not differentiate between the two divisions of the tribe. With the greater organization of Indian Affairs at the last of the nineteenth century this differentiating increased. Although the Mountain and River Crows had the same enemies, the part of this paper concerned with the Sioux invasion is more interested in the former group, since their geographic location placed them in contention with the largest number of invaders from the east.

46. Boller, *Among the Indians*, p. 333.

47. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 1248), p. 407.

48. Carrington, *AB-SA-RA-KA*, p. 17.

gaining part of the rich Crow hunting grounds. John Finerty described the results as significantly portentous for the Crows:

The abolition of the three forts named fairly inflated the Sioux. The finest hunting grounds in the world had fallen into their possession, and the American Government, instead of standing by and strengthening the Crows, their ancient friends and allies, unwisely abandoned the very positions that would have held the more ferocious tribes in check. The Crows had a most unhappy time of it after the treaty was ratified. Their lands were constantly raided by the Sioux. Several desperate battles were fought and, finally, the weaker tribe was compelled to seek safety beyond the Bighorn River. Had the Sioux and Crows been left to settle the difficulty between themselves, few of the latter tribe would be left on the face of the earth to-day.<sup>49</sup>

In 1869-1870, Peter Koch, a resident of the town of Muscleshell in Montana Territory, rather effectively summed up the military history of the Crows up to that point in the century. Until the middle of the century, he said, they had been concerned primarily with fighting the Blackfeet and the Cheyenne, and only occasionally ran into the Sioux. However, where the Crows had before ranged as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone, in his time they seldom went below the mouth of the Big Horn River or the bend of the Muscleshell River because of the continuous threat of the Sioux. Although that tribe greatly outnumbered the Crows, Koch maintained that the latter were holding their own, because they were better armed and because they were generally better fighters.<sup>50</sup> During the 1860s then, the Crows had lost, for the first time, a sizable portion of their territory. From this point until the late 1870s the warriors of the tribe were committed to holding on to as much of their land as possible. Against the persistent incursions of their enemies, this was a difficult task.

The story of the period following the Powder River War, until the Sioux were defeated by the whites, emerges with the Crows vainly holding out against overwhelming invading forces. From the narrative of Plenty-coups one gathers the impression of the Crows being engulfed by Sioux encroachment to the extent that they were often unable to meet their foes in battle. The chief referred several times to the need to move the village in order not to fight against unfavorable odds.<sup>51</sup> This was also the interpretation the Indians gave to their agent in 1870. They were surrounded by enemies, the Crows said, and often had to retreat because of their inferior numbers and fewer weapons.<sup>52</sup>

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49. Finerty, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

50. Peter Koch, "Life at Muscleshell in 1869 and 1870," *CHSM*, II (Helena: State Publishing Co., 1896), p. 300.

51. Linderman, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 153, 256.

52. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1870. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part IV, 41 Cong., 3 Sess. (Serial 1449), p. 663.

The onslaught of the Sioux is well represented in the Crow Agency reports of the years 1871-1876. In the years 1871, 1872, and 1873, Agent F. D. Pease reported that because of the constant warfare between the two nations, the progress in "civilizing" the Crows was quite slow. Sioux raiding parties continually overran the reservation, killing people, running off livestock, and in general making it unsafe for the Crows.<sup>53</sup>

In the years 1875 and 1876, as the Sioux threat grew, Agent Dexter Clapp reported disruptions on the reservation. The Crows were always in a revengeful spirit. They had little thought for farming but only wanted more guns with which to fight the Sioux.<sup>54</sup>

Although the Crows' land was reduced to a reservation by the 1870s, this did not keep the Sioux and Cheyenne from continuing to drive the Crows back, deeply penetrating this reservation. As early as 1869 occasional Sioux raiding parties were pushing into the Wind River Mountains in the southern portion of Crow country. On the east the Absaroka Tribe was soon restricted to the left bank of the Big Horn River. The Sioux-controlled territory stretched to that point as its western boundary, while the Yellowstone served as its northern boundary. Lieutenant Bradley, in 1876, maintained that the Crows usually stayed even farther west than the Big Horn River—on the east bank of Pryor's Creek—and seldom went down to the Big Horn except in large numbers because of the amount of Sioux harassment.<sup>55</sup> All of this aggrandizement by the Sioux was accomplished after the Treaty of 1868.

Throughout this period the increasing weakness of the Crow Nation became evident. In 1871, for instance, the Montana Superintendent of Indian Affairs, J. A. Viall, said that its members seldom ventured out of their reservation except for short hunts, due to their fear of the Sioux.<sup>56</sup> In the stories of Plenty-coups can be seen the almost maddening frustration of the Crow's natural desire for combat, which came with the tribe's growing military impotence. The men were able to continue their small raids, but when the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho moved against them in force it was a different story. The frustration of a young man, desirous of

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53. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 42 Cong., 2 Sess. (Serial 1505), pp. 835-836; Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 42 Cong., 3 Sess. (Serial 1560), pp. 662-664; and "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873." *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 43 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 1601), p. 616.

54. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 44 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 1680), pp. 563, 803-805; Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 44 Cong., 2 Sess. (Serial 1749), pp. 491-492.

55. "Journal of Bradley," *op. cit.*, II, p. 182.

56. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871, *House Ex. Doc. 1*, Part V, 42 Cong., 2 Sess. (Serial 1505), p. 830.

glory, was illustrated by Plenty-coups and his comrades when their village moved in retreat from a strong force. It was composed of the above three tribes, and faced the Crow camp from across the Big Horn.<sup>57</sup>

Given this ominous situation, the Absaroka Nation looked for friends. The Shoshoni became fairly permanent allies, and the Nez Perces and Bannocks sometimes helped. These tribes were also enemies of the Sioux, who generally fought all of the non-hostile nations of the area. In the late 1870s the Crows often served as scouts for, or fought with, the United States Army, particularly against the Sioux. When a band of Crows joined General Crook's expedition in 1876, their chief, Old Crow, gave the reasons for their aid. They wanted to reclaim their lands stolen by the Sioux and have revenge on that tribe.<sup>58</sup> Years later, Plenty-coups gave very similar reasons for helping the whites:

Our decision was reached, not because we loved the white man who was already crowding other tribes into our country, or because we hated the Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, but because we plainly saw this this course was the only one which might save our beautiful country for us.<sup>59</sup>

Plenty-coups was proud of the fact that the Crow chiefs had seen the power of their enemies and of the whites and had recognized, at an early date, that the only possibility of retaining their country was to help the whites.<sup>60</sup> In this they were relatively successful.

After the years 1876 and 1877, with most of the hostile Sioux coming into reservations, the long years of the Crow's defensive war came to an end. One comes across occasional incidents of war parties, but on the whole the tribe was rather secure on its reservation. What hostile Sioux that were left, were dissuaded from incursions into Crow land due to the proximity of military posts. Plenty-coups mentioned the infrequency of raids and war parties against the nation's enemies in the 1880s.<sup>61</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain the loss in men sustained by the Crows during these years of war. They probably lost no more than their enemies. However, the Crow losses were more costly because they were a small tribe. In the last twenty years of fighting there was apparently no overall decrease in the Crow population. In 1879, Agent A. R. Keller said they could field 900 men out of a population of 3300.<sup>62</sup> In 1853 the nation also numbered around

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57. Linderman, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

58. Finerty, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

59. Linderman, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Linderman, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

62. Refer to note 29.

3000.<sup>63</sup> Lieutenant Bradley confirmed the former figure, but pointed out that their strength had been drastically reduced in the previous hundred years.<sup>64</sup> Much of this undoubtedly occurred from disease and from the defeat in 1822, of which Bradley spoke. In addition, however, one can document a rather substantial loss in manpower in the years between the 1830s and the 1850s, when the Crow's situation was steadily worsening. Compared to the 900 warriors of 1853, Bonneville reported 1500 in the 1830s.<sup>65</sup> Zenas Leonard spoke of 1600 in 1834.<sup>66</sup> Beckwourth also put the number at around 1600.<sup>67</sup> Denig, in the 1850s, said the Crow lodges had been reduced from 800 to 460, but he did not give any dates.<sup>68</sup> As has been noted, Father De Smet, in the 1840s, felt that the Crows were being rapidly diminished. Although all of these figures may not be exact, there is little doubt that the Crows were being reduced. If the war with the Sioux had continued, the Crow tribe almost certainly would have faced annihilation, as was foretold by Edwin Denig, John Finerty, and Father De Smet.

Like all tribes of the Upper Missouri, the struggle of the Crows came, in part, from a socially inherent search for glory in war, and also from an economic necessity to defend their hunting grounds or find more productive ones. For the Crows, particularly in later years, the economic need of defending their country seemed to be the overriding factor of the tribe's warfare. The peculiarity of the tribe's situation came from its geographic location within probably the most abundant hunting grounds in the Northern Plains. Besides this, the Crow country was literally surrounded by tribes, most of whom the Crows fought for many years. As has been shown, the available statistics on the Crow population demonstrate a probable loss in manpower from the 1830s to 1850s that was undoubtedly due in part to warfare. The conflicts of the Crows, if continued, could well have led to their elimination as a people.

One must not be overzealous in applying theories to an Indian war of this type. It is somewhat paradoxical, after viewing tribes like the Blackfeet and Sioux as bitter enemies of the Crows, to learn that captives taken by the latter often lived happily with them, and that in the conflict of the 1870s there were times of friendliness and trading between the Sioux and the Crows. In speaking of his enemies, the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Plenty-coups assured his biographer that the Crows did not hate their foes.<sup>69</sup> Thomas

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63. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1853. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 1*, Part I, 33 Cong., 1 Sess. (Serial 690), p. 354.

64. "Journal of Bradley," *op. cit.*, II, p. 182.

65. Refer to note 43.

66. Ewers, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

67. Leland, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

68. Denig, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

69. Refer to note 59.

Leforge, in reviewing his days as a "white" Crow warrior, spoke of his recent friendship with old Sioux enemies and quipped, "I appreciate now that those deadly combats were a sportive game more than a killing because of hate."<sup>70</sup> Taking into consideration the physical and mental hardiness of the American Indian, perhaps it is not surprising that, poised alongside the chauvinism of a deadly and earnest economic struggle, was also the seemingly irrational competition of a game of stealing horses and counting coups.

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### FAMILIAR PHRASES

"Out in the cold," an expression frequently applied in the United States and England to persons who have been driven out of office, or have not obtained the appointments they desired and solicited, is nearly a century old, and was one of the sayings of P. H. B. Wyndhim in 1784.

The common phrase, "Castles in the air," was used by Robert Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," over 250 years ago, and has since been used by Dean Swift, Henry Fielding, Phillip Sydney, Colley Cibbar, Charles Churchill, William Shenstone and innumerable others until it has become a very common expression.

"Going the whole hog." This phrase originated in Ireland, where a British shilling has been called a "hog" time out of mind. In Ireland, if a fellow happened to have a shilling, when he met his friends he would stand treat, even if the expense reached the whole amount—in plain words, that he would "go the whole hog" to gratify them.

"I have a bone to pick with you" is a phrase that is uncomplimentary to the ladies at starting. It means, as is well known, having an unpleasant matter to settle with you; and this is the origin of the phrase: At the marriage banquets of the Sicilian poor, the bride's

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70. Marquis, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

father, after the meal, used to hand the bridegroom a bone, saying: "Pick this bone, for you have undertaken a harder task."

"Dead as a door nail." This proverbial expression is taken from the door-nail—that is, the nail on which, in old doors, the knocker strikes. It is therefore used as a comparison to anyone irrevocably dead; one who has fallen (as Virgil says) multa morte—i.e., with abundant death, such as reiteration of strokes on the head would naturally produce.

"As dead as a herring," has a simple origin. That fish, which, when fat, is called a "bloater," dies immediately upon its removal from the sea. It wants air, and can live only in salt water; whereas an eel lives a long time after leaving the native element. Swimming so near the surface of the water as it does, the herring requires much air, and the gills when dry cannot perform their function—that of breathing.

Falstaff—What! Is the old King dead?

Pistol—As a nail in door.

—Shakespeare

The phrase "putting the cart before the horse" can boast of great antiquity, having first been quoted by Lucian, the great Greek writer, nearly 1,700 years ago. Francis Rabelais, the French satirist and wit, whose "Gorgantua" was published in the year 1533, has the phrase "He placed the carriage before the steed." No derivation of it can be given, but the meaning is very obvious, and refers to those who begin to do a thing at the wrong end.

There is a mode of declaring by the words "he has kicked the bucket" that a person is dead. There is a tradition that Balsover, having hung himself to a beam while standing off the bottom of a pail or bucket, kicked the vessel away in order to pry into futurity, and it was up with him from that moment. There is a story of a dairy maid, who, having upset a pail of milk, was assailed by her rural beau with, "There! you've kicked the bucket!" To which her ready and clever answer was: "No, I've only turned a little pail" (pale).

—*Cheyenne Daily Leader*, June 25, 1880

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# *History of Teton County*

*By*

GLENN R. BURKES

## INTRODUCTION

Teton county has many peculiarities, and hopefully many of them will become obvious in the course of this study. One, however, deserves mentioning at this point: Teton county is a "one-town" county. The town is Jackson, the county seat. With a population of about 2000 full-time residents, Jackson, the county's only incorporated town, is located at the south end of the valley of Jackson Hole. The town of Jackson contains Teton County's legal system, hospital, high school, doctors, law enforcement agencies, court house, and approximately one-half of the county's population.

Jackson Hole virtually completes the picture where human habitation is concerned; the rest of the county is mountainous and heavily forested. For this reason, "Jackson Hole" and "Teton County" are almost synonymous, and most writers to date have considered them as such. Since almost all of the county's citizens live in the valley, and always have, this association is understandable, though very unique. Jackson Hole and Teton county are, in fact, so congruent economically, socially, and politically that it is sometimes difficult and often needless to differentiate between them. After park extension became a bitter issue, land outside of Jackson Hole figured prominently in the dispute, but the people involved in the struggle lived in the valley itself. Geography, then, has made the valley a complete entity, an "island" surrounded by extremely rugged terrain. The county lines, as a result, are less obvious and important limits than is the case with most counties. The mountains around Jackson Hole have proved to be more tangible boundaries.

The mountain men used the word "hole" to describe a valley enclosed by mountains, and often named "holes" after members of their circle who frequented the area. In this case it became "Jackson's Hole," for the trapper David E. Jackson. The possessive has gradually been dropped in common usage down through the years, though a few old timers still use the original form. The town's first newspaper, *The Jackson's Hole Courier*, also used the old form until its demise in the early 1960s.

Several histories of Jackson Hole have been written, all of which have concentrated on specific chapters of the area's colorful past. None has attempted to treat the subject as a county history, perhaps

because Jackson Hole itself has been the setting for most of the county's recorded history. In the following pages I have attempted to present the highlights of Teton County's history, from the fur trade to the present, under one cover.

### MOUNTAINS AND MEN

Teton County has an area of 2873 square miles and just over 4000 hardy citizens. Situated in northwestern Wyoming, it is bordered on the west by the state of Idaho, on the north by Yellowstone National Park, and on the east and south by the Wind River, Gross Ventre, and Hoback Mountains.

A truly phenomenal display of prehistoric geological activity, the mountain valley that is one of the dominant terrain features of Teton County is known as Jackson Hole to the millions of people who visit it each year. Its western boundary is the Teton Mountains, an alpine range of crystalline granite which, along with Jackson Hole, forms a setting of almost unparalleled beauty. Without foothills, and abruptly rising 7000 feet from the valley floor, this rugged range, with its glaciers and jagged peaks, is recognized as one of the most uniquely formed geological phenomena in North America. The Tetons are approximately 75 miles long, and extend from Pitchstone Plateau in Yellowstone Park, south to a point about six miles north of the Grand Canyon of the Snake River.<sup>1</sup> The range bristles with pinnacles ranging from 10,000 to almost 14,000 feet above sea level. The valley runs roughly 60 miles north and south, and is about 12 miles across at its widest point.<sup>2</sup> The mountains and valley have geological unity, inasmuch as they originated at the same time, and a brief look at the geological activity which created them is in order.

On opposite sides of the "Teton Fault," which is the line where the mountains meet the valley floor, two adjacent earth blocks were displaced in relation to one another. Uplifted 7000 feet and tilted westward, the west block became the Tetons, whereas the east block was depressed to form Jackson Hole. A mountain range formed in this manner is called a "fault-block" range, and a valley so formed is termed a "fault-trough." This is not the only mountain-valley relationship of its type in the west (the Sierra Nevadas are another example), but it is the only one with such compactness. As a result of this circumstance, the bulk of the entire range may

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1. William O. Owen, "The Naming of Mount Owen," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 5, Nos. 2/3, pp. 72-77.

2. Merrill J. Mattes, *Colter's Hell and Jackson's Hole* (National Park Service: Yellowstone Library and Museum Association and the Grand Teton Natural History Association, 1962), p. 4.

be observed as one unobstructed panorama from almost any point in the valley proper.<sup>3</sup>

When viewed from the valley floor, the Teton Range's fault-block characteristics are obvious—the almost vertical configuration of its eastern face, the triangular facets where the inter-canyon ridges terminate, and the hanging position of the canyons. Also the eastern slope is without foothills, further evidence of the clean cut along the Teton Fault. On the western slope, however, the rocks are merely upturned and foothills are very much in evidence.<sup>4</sup>

Another striking feature of the Tetons' interesting geological heritage is the contrast between the flat-topped peaks, such as Mount Moran, at the Range's extremities, which are still blanketed by the strata that once covered the entire block, and the sharp-tipped granite spires toward the center of the range, such as the Grand Teton, which have been stripped of all overlaying strata and carved from the hard crystalline rock underneath.<sup>5</sup>

The blanketing sedimentary deposits which form the topsoil of Jackson Hole provide evidence that at least three glacial periods have assisted in the creation of the present terrain features of the area, periods during which the peaks were sculpted into their final forms, and the resulting debris was leaving its indelible record for geologists to interpret. It was during the last glacial period that Jackson Lake, in the northern end of the valley came into existence from melted ice, and likewise the pitted section farther south, known locally as the pothole country; these potholes were formed when isolated portions of ice were covered by outwash deposits, later to melt and cause depressions. Thus, the general terrain features of Jackson Hole are a mute testimony to perhaps two million years of history, years during which nature was kept busy sculpting an area that has no peer for ruggedness and primitive beauty, and which may literally be described as a meeting ground for glaciers.<sup>6</sup>

Jackson Hole extends almost from the northern to the southern ends of Teton County. Elevations run from about 6000 feet in the southern end of the valley to around 6600 in the north-central part. The valley floor is fairly flat, with the exception of such higher features as Blacktail Butte and Gros Ventre Buttes. The Gros Ventre Range forms the southeastern boundary of Jackson Hole. The core of this range, like that of the Tetons, is composed of crystalline rock, but the 11,000-feet-high peaks at the crest of the range are, unlike the lofty Teton peaks, composed of sedimentary

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3. Fritiof M. Fryxell, *The Geology of Jackson Hole* (Washington, D. C.: National Parks Association, 1944), p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

rock. The Gros Ventre River valley is a dividing point between the range of the same name, and the Mount Leidy Highlands farther north. Mount Leidy, with an elevation of 10,317 feet, is the highest point in this area of moderately deformed sedimentary rocks. North across the valley of the Buffalo Fork River, the Pinyon Peak Highlands blend into the Volcanic Plateau of Yellowstone Park.<sup>7</sup>

Water covers 43,330 acres of Teton County.<sup>8</sup> The predominant water feature in the county is Jackson Lake, its western shore being contiguous with the eastern base of the Tetons. Besides Jackson Lake, there are numerous other lakes in Teton County, the largest of which are Two Ocean Lake and Emma Matilda Lake in the Pinyon Peak Highlands; and Leigh, Jenny, Bradley, Taggart, and Phelps lakes, all situated along the eastern slope of the Tetons between Jackson Lake and the south end of Jackson Hole. The Snake River flows from Jackson Lake, and virtually all streams draining Teton County are its tributaries. The second largest stream in the county is the Gros Ventre, which converges with the Snake just north of the town of Jackson.

Teton County's climate is dry and cool. July temperatures average around 60 degrees Fahrenheit, although the mercury sometimes reaches 80 during that month, which is the hottest period of the year. The coldest month is January, when temperatures can drop to as low as 65 degrees below zero. Average annual precipitation for the valley of Jackson Hole is 15.33 inches, whereas in the higher areas it may reach as high as 30 inches, because of the heavy snowfall which blankets these areas for as long as one third of each year. Almost 90 per cent of the precipitation falls in the form of snow, and high in the Tetons, snow flurries may occur at any time during the year. The period of highest precipitation is from late December to late January, and the lowest is from late June until mid-July. The growing season averages a scant 60 days, usually beginning in the latter part of June.<sup>9</sup>

The area which is now Teton County was left to nature and the Indians until fur trading expeditions began entering the area. The Tetons reputedly received their name from the French-Canadian trappers who accompanied the British on one such early expedition. The three loftiest peaks in the Teton Range (now called Grand, Middle, and South Tetons) were romantically dubbed "Les Trois Tetons" (the three breasts) by the lonely French-speaking trappers.<sup>10</sup> Although rivaled by several other names at various times

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7. *Teton County Wyoming* (Employment Security Commission of Wyoming), p. 3.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

10. Mattes, *op. cit.* p. 7.

throughout the period of exploration, the preference of the French-Canadian trappers was destined to pass the test of time.

One of the largest enclosed valleys in the Rocky Mountains, Jackson Hole was not an easy area to enter, and the mountains surrounding it required careful traversing if a reasonably trouble-free entry was to be effected. Seven passages to and from Jackson Hole have been used in historic times: northward up the Snake River; northeastward up Pacific Creek to Two Ocean Pass; eastward up Buffalo Fork to Togwotee Pass; eastward up the Gros Ventre to Union Pass; southward up the Hoback to Green River; and westward via Teton Pass or Conant Pass (at the south and north extremities of the Teton Range) to Pierre's Hole.<sup>11</sup>

John Colter has generally been accorded the honor of having been the first white man to enter Teton County. A \$5-a-month private with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Colter's job had been to help supply the party with wild meat, a duty which he performed remarkably well. As Lewis and Clark were descending the Missouri River on the return trip in August of 1806, Colter was given permission when the party had reached the Mandan villages, to join two Illinois trappers, Forrest Hancock and Joseph Dickson, who were on their way to set up trapping operations along the Yellowstone River. After what appears to have been an unprofitable winter for Colter, he set out for St. Louis in the spring of 1807, paddling a canoe down the Missouri. This time he made it as far as the mouth of the Platte River, where he was intercepted by Manuel Lisa, who was taking a trapping brigade in keelboats up the Missouri. Lisa must have considered himself fortunate for having made the encounter, for the experienced Colter was immediately hired to act as guide and hunter for the fur expedition. So, once again, Colter returned to the wilderness. Lisa built his log fort (named "Fort Remon" after his son, but more commonly called Fort Manuel, or simply Lisa's Fort, after Lisa himself) at the mouth of the Big Horn River. It was from here that Colter made the famous trek that has become the subject for so much controversy among historians; and which took him into areas until then unknown to white men. Traveling with weapon, ammunition, and a 30-pound pack, Colter covered about 500 miles of some of the roughest terrain in North America, and did it in the dead of winter. His assignment was to carry word to the Crows that his employer would receive their trade goods, and to act as an ambassador of good will to any of the other tribes of the area who were interested.<sup>12</sup>

Based upon Lisa's narrative to Henry Brackenridge and a con-

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11. *Ibid.*

12. Burton Harris, *John Colter: His Years in the Rockies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), pp. 74-75.

versation which Colter had with William Clark in 1810 in St. Louis, Colter's probable route has been plotted by several scholars. One of the most accepted composites is that Colter ascended the Big Horn, then went up the Shoshone to the vicinity of present Cody, went south around the foot of the Absarokas, up Wind River to Union Pass, into Jackson Hole, thence across Teton Pass into Pierre's Hole, thence north through Conant Pass to the west shore of Yellowstone Lake and northeast to the crossing of the Yellowstone near Tower Falls, thence up the Lamar River and Soda Butte Creek, back across the Absarokas again, from there south to the Shoshone River, then back to Lisa's Fort by way of Clarke's Fork and Pryor's Fork.<sup>13</sup> The first known white man into Wyoming and the recognized discoverer of Yellowstone Park and Jackson Hole was to have numerous other harrowing experiences before he finally left the mountains, including a pitched battle between the dreaded Blackfeet after he had been stripped naked and told to run for his life. Colter endured every hardship the mountains had to offer, and returned to St. Louis in May, 1810. Here he acquired a bride and enjoyed a mere three years of civilized living before dying of jaundice in 1813, at the approximate age of 38.

Although John Colter certainly deserved the honor which history has accorded him as the first man into the Teton area, the credit for doing something about it must go to some of his more loquacious successors. In the spring of 1810, three mountain men—John Hoback, Edward Robinson, and Jacob Rezner—with Andrew Henry's first expedition, accompanied Henry on a foray from his fort on the Big Horn to the beaver-rich Three Forks country. This area happened also to be popular with the consistently bad-tempered Blackfeet, who chased them across the Continental Divide, possibly through Targhee Pass, to the North Fork of the Snake (since renamed Henry's Fork). Cabins were built here, and, called "Henry's Fort," this encampment became the first American settlement on the Pacific slope.<sup>14</sup> It is quite likely that the party trapped and hunted in Jackson Hole during the winter of 1810-1811, as evidenced by the familiarity with the area which Hoback, Robinson and Rezner later displayed.

In the spring the party ran out of food and decided to divide into three groups. Henry headed north to his fort on the Missouri to carry word of the disaster; one faction traveled south toward Santa Fe; and the now seemingly inseparable and invincible Hoback, Robinson and Rezner pursued an easterly course which probably routed them over Teton Pass, across Jackson Hole, and out through

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13. Mattes, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

14. Merrill J. Mattes, "Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade, 1807-1829," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXVII (April, 1946), pp. 87-108 (hereafter cited as P.N.Q.).

Togwotee Pass. From here they pushed on to the Arikara villages on the Missouri, where they built a dugout canoe and started down the Missouri.<sup>15</sup>

It is at this point that the famous "Astorians" and the American Fur Company enter the picture. John Jacob Astor was a New York businessman, and secured the charter from that state in 1808 which brought the American Fur Company into being. One of his schemes was to establish a post at the mouth of the Columbia and cash in on the wealth which he hoped to extract from the great northwestern wilderness area. His subsidiary Pacific Fur Company was organized expressly for this purpose, and two expeditions were accordingly dispatched, one by sea around Cape Horn, and the other to retrace Lewis and Clark's overland route. Both were to reach their destination, but only after much suffering; and while Astor's enterprises were no earth-shaking financial success, they had a considerable impact. Astor's post on the Columbia was the first organized occupation of Oregon, an element of great importance later when the U. S. was trying to establish a legal claim to that area. And the overland party had the distinction of being the first transcontinental expedition after Lewis and Clark.

Astor's partner in the grandiose scheme was Wilson Price Hunt, the leader of the overland group. Before embarking, Hunt talked with the already legendary John Colter, recently married, and now living near Charette, Missouri. It seems only logical that Colter would have given Hunt some useful advice concerning the perils of the trackless wilderness which the latter was about to enter. At any rate, early in 1811 the overland Astorians started up the Missouri with their keelboats. On May 26, as they were near the mouth of the Niobrara River, they met none other than the ubiquitous Hoback, Robinson, and Rezner, who were paddling their dugout canoe down the Missouri. The three, apparently not yet ready to admit defeat, joined Hunt's party as guides and hunters, just as Colter had with Lisa four years before. It is possible that it was their reports of hostile Indians which induced Hunt to abandon the river route at the Arikara villages and proceed overland, which he did on July 18. From here the group consisted of 82 horses, 62 men, and the squaw and two children of the interpreter, Pierre Dorion. (Dorion's squaw was the next woman to make the overland journey after Sacajawea.<sup>16</sup>) Hunt led his group over the plains, across the Big Horn Mountains, and up the Wind River. In a quest for improved hunting they changed courses and headed in the direction of the Green River (then called "Spanish River")<sup>17</sup>

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15. *Ibid.*

16. Mattes, *Colter's Hell and Jackson's Hole*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

17. Harrison Clifford Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1918), p. 34.

and on September 16 descended into the Green River Valley via Union Pass. From here they could see the Tetons, which the party referred to as "Pilot Knobs." Here they had a buffalo hunt, crossed the low divide into Hoback Basin, and reached the confluence of the Snake and Hoback Rivers in Jackson Hole. Presumably, it was at this time that the Hoback River was named.<sup>18</sup> Hunt's party then moved on across the Snake River and Teton Pass, where they found Henry's abandoned fort. They then followed the Snake, divided forces, and after great difficulties, most of the party finally made it to Astoria, via the Snake and Columbia Rivers. Hunt and his Astorians, so far as is known, were the first Americans to visit Green River and to cross Union Pass.<sup>19</sup>

On June 29, 1812, seven Astorians, led by Robert Stuart, started overland from the mouth of the Columbia to carry dispatches to John Jacob Astor in St. Louis. Theirs was the first organized eastbound transcontinental expedition after the return of Lewis and Clark, and in the course of the journey, they discovered South Pass and the route which was later to become famous as the Oregon Trail. On October 7 they crossed Teton Pass into Jackson Hole, and exited via Hoback Canyon. On April 30, 1813, the emaciated group reached St. Louis.<sup>20</sup>

By 1812 American interest in the western fur trade was flagging. There are several possible explanations for this, including the savagery of the Blackfeet and a conspicuous lack of interest on the part of the U. S. government; but, undoubtedly, the factor having the greatest effect was the War of 1812. Astor's partners in the Pacific Fur Company, rather than let the company's interests become a prize of war, sold out to the British Northwest Company for \$40,000.<sup>21</sup> When the energetic Donald McKenzie returned to New York to present Astor with the money and company papers, the latter angrily fired him on the spot.<sup>22</sup> At this turn of events, McKenzie joined his erstwhile competitor, the "Nor'westers," and in 1818 he was placed in charge of the Snake River Division of that company. He led a fur brigade to the Snake River Valley the same year, and in 1819 took a small group to what must have been Yellowstone Park and Jackson Hole, as his description of the terrain all but eliminates any other alternative.<sup>23</sup> It may have been on this occasion that the Tetons and Pierre's Hole were named.<sup>24</sup>

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18. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXVII, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

19. Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

20. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXVII, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

21. Elizabeth Wied Hayden, *From Trapper to Tourist in Jackson Hole* (Elizabeth Wied Hayden, 1957), p. 13.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 13; and Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXVII, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

24. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXVII, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

In 1821 the cutthroat competition which had developed between the two British giants—The Hudson's Bay Company, and the Nor'westers—was ostensibly ended when the two merged. This produced a seemingly unchallengeable force, and very substantially strengthened the British Crown's claims to the Oregon country. But challenged these claims were, and this came in the form of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which was organized in St. Louis the next year by General William H. Ashley and Andrew Henry. With its "one hundred young men," this company launched an onslaught into the fur frontier which was destined to leave an indelible mark on the history of the west. Among this band of raw recruits were men who later became legendary—Jim Bridger, Hiram Scott, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Jim Clyman, Jedediah Smith, Etienne Provot, William Sublette, and David E. Jackson. The latter made his contribution to history by having Jackson Lake and Jackson Hole named after him.

In 1824 seven trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, led by the young, mild-mannered, Bible-quoting Jedediah Smith, crossed Jackson Hole via Hoback Canyon and Conant Pass, on their way to the rich but still extremely dangerous Blackfoot country. On his return trip, Smith rediscovered South Pass, and recrossed Jackson Hole on his way to Henry's post on the Yellowstone.<sup>25</sup>

In the meantime, Jim Bridger and a party of six were trapping the headwaters of the Snake in Jackson Hole. They remained here until rendezvous time in July, when they left for the rendezvous on the Big Sandy. After the rendezvous, they returned to the headwaters of the Snake. Bridger did not sever relations with the area for the next 35 years.<sup>26</sup> In the autumn of 1825 Bridger, Fitzpatrick and 30 trappers followed the Jedediah Smith route into Jackson Hole and ascended the Snake into Yellowstone Park.<sup>27</sup>

In the summer of 1826 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company sold its interests to three individuals who by this time enjoyed fine reputations in the trade, namely Jedediah Smith, William Sublette, and David E. Jackson. They perpetuated the aggressive reputation of the company and increased their profits, as well as the record of their exploits. Meanwhile, the fur trade continued to expand, and the annual rendezvous became an established institution.

In the summer of 1829 William Sublette, as a new partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, returned from St. Louis with a large outfit, which included Thomas Fitzpatrick, Joe Meek, and Jim Bridger. He crossed Togwotee Pass into Jackson Hole where

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25. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

26. Walcott Watson, *History of Jackson's Hole before the Year 1907* (New York: 193—), pp. 27-28.

27. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXVII, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

he had arranged to meet with David E. Jackson, who had not attended the 1829 rendezvous on the Popo Agie. The two parties had their own little rendezvous on the shores of Jackson Lake, and it is commonly believed that it was at that time that William Sublette named the lake, as well as the enclosed valley, after his partner.<sup>28</sup> It is possible, however, that the two terms went into general usage gradually. Surprisingly, almost nothing is known about this phantom trapper who gave his name to one of the most famous areas in the west, but he must have been competent and a leader of men to have remained a working partner in one of the most powerful of the fur companies throughout four peak years when competition was keenest. One thing that can be assumed, however, is that the valley of Jackson Hole held a strong attraction for the mysterious Jackson, since he spent so much time there. It was his territory.<sup>29</sup>

The partners of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company decided in 1830 to sell their interests to Jim Bridger, Milton Sublette (William's younger brother), Thomas Fitzpatrick, Jean Baptiste Gervais, and Henry Fraeb. At this point, David E. Jackson returned to St. Louis and disappeared from the pages of history.<sup>30</sup>

By 1830 Jackson Hole had been pretty thoroughly explored, but activity in the area was by no means diminishing. In fact, during the decade ending in 1840, the area was entered by no fewer than 30 trapping and trading expeditions.<sup>31</sup> Jackson Hole was near the center of an action-fraught circle of about one hundred miles radius, which included the headwaters of the Snake, Green, Yellowstone, Wind, and Missouri Rivers.<sup>32</sup>

It was inevitable that such an area, once its nature became obvious to the world, would attract fortune-seeking parties in increasing numbers. The first group of note to visit Jackson Hole in the 1830s was Nathaniel Wyeth's in 1832. He and his party arrived at the annual rendezvous, which was being held in Pierre's Hole (just across Teton Pass from Jackson Hole, and today called Teton Basin<sup>33</sup>), in the welcome company of William Sublette, as Wyeth and his people were in a sickened, half-starved condition. Wyeth had already lost some of his horses to Indians, and the Gros Ventre attack following the rendezvous, with the ensuing Battle of Pierre's Hole on July 18, probably made him eager to embark for

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28. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-108.

29. Merrill J. Mattes, "Jackson Hole, Crossroads of the Western Fur Trade, 1830-1840," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXIX (January, 1948), p. 4.

30. Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

31. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXIX, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

33. Fritiof M. Fryxell, "The Story of Deadman's Bar," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 129-148.

points distant. Having repulsed the attack, during which over 20 Indians and three whites died,<sup>34</sup> Sublette and Wyeth, bound for the lower Snake via Teton Pass, encamped to allow the wounded Sublette to recuperate. On the 25th seven men who ultimately hoped to accompany him to St. Louis lost their patience and set out alone. They are identified as More of Boston, Foy of Mississippi, Alfred K. Stephens, two grandsons of Daniel Boone, and two unidentified men. They were attacked in Jackson Hole by a war party of Gros Ventres and More and Foy were killed instantly. The five survivors retreated to Sublette's camp, where Stephens died of his wounds.<sup>35</sup> These could have been the first white casualties in Jackson Hole.<sup>36</sup> It is at this juncture that Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, on a leave of absence from the U. S. Army for the joint purposes of trade and exploration, joins in the activity. Enroute to the upper waters of the Salmon, and probably having entered Jackson Hole by the Gros Ventre River, Bonneville claimed to have found the remains of the hapless Foy and More, and to have given them a decent burial.<sup>37</sup> This is in direct conflict with the testimony given by Warren A. Ferris, who stated that on July 14, he and his party deposited the bones in a tributary of the Hoback;<sup>38</sup> so it is possible that the romantic Bonneville (or even Irving) improved upon the truth a bit.

The uncompleted post which Bonneville had abandoned on the upper Green River was the site of the 1833 rendezvous, and several of the parties crossed the Teton country en route. In early July, both Wyeth and Bonneville crossed Teton Pass, where the latter lost a horse. Also in attendance were agents of the Rocky Mountain and American Fur Companies, Stuart's party, and a large number of Snake Indians. Robert Campbell, who had just arrived with a large supply outfit from St. Louis, passed through Jackson Hole and Pierre's Hole, and returned in ten days with a cache of furs; ten men accompanied him.<sup>39</sup>

The year 1834 was eventful for the fur trade: it marked the end of high fur prices; the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was dissolved, giving the American Fur Company a virtual monopoly; John Jacob Astor disassociated himself from the fur trade by selling out to Pierre Chouteau in St. Louis;<sup>40</sup> and the death knell was sounded for the rendezvous system with the establishment of

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34. B. W. Driggs, *History of Teton Valley Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1926), p. 67.

35. Washington Irving, *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1868), pp. 104-105.

36. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

37. Irving, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

38. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXIX, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

39. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

two permanent trading posts—Fort Hall near the junction of the Snake and Portneuf, and Fort Laramie at the confluence of the Laramie and Platte. That fall, Jim Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and Milton Sublette, now with the American Fur Company, led a party through Jackson Hole to the Yellowstone country; included in this party were Joe Meek and Kit Carson.<sup>41</sup>

The next year was also a milestone in the history of Teton County, for it was at this time that the first missionary entered the area. In August 1835 the tireless Jim Bridger, again accompanied by Joe Meek and Kit Carson, led a band of trappers from the rendezvous at Fort Bonneville,<sup>42</sup> reaching the mouth of the Hoback on the 25th. With the Bridger party was the Reverend Samuel Parker and a delegation of Flatheads. Parker had come west with Dr. Marcus Whitman to establish a mission in Oregon, but the unexpected enthusiasm of the Flatheads at the rendezvous<sup>43</sup> had prompted the devoted Whitman to return east for more missionaries; Parker, however, chose to remain with the Flatheads. On Sunday, August 23, Parker preached a sermon in Hoback Canyon, and undoubtedly spoke of Christianity to the Indians as the party crossed Jackson Hole, though there is no hint of a formal sermon there. In Jackson Hole the party split, with Bridger and his trappers going north, while the Flathead guides led Parker over Teton Pass, bound for the Columbia.<sup>44</sup>

The mountain fur trade was monopolized by the American Fur Company by 1836. Directing its field operations at this time were Andrew Drips and Lucien Fontenelle. Most of the trappers were now employees of that company, although some were organized into independent bands, and had contracts with the company. Jim Bridger headed such a group. Furthermore, the lakes and streams in the low country were by now depleted and the main activity was confined to the high country, especially in the Yellowstone area in the mountains east and northeast of Jackson Hole.<sup>45</sup>

The rendezvous of 1836 and 1837 were held on the Wind River, and the rendezvous of 1838<sup>46</sup> was held in the Hayden Valley below Yellowstone Lake.<sup>47</sup> Jackson Hole was the center of this activity,

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41. Mattes, *P.N.Q.*, XXXIX, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

42. It was at the rendezvous at Fort Bonneville in 1835 that Kit Carson and Captain Shunar engaged in a mounted duel; Carson shot Shunar's gun from his hand. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

46. There were two full-scale rendezvous in 1838—the one in Hayden Valley, plus another later rendezvous on the Wind River. J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 164.

47. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

and in 1837 the Three Tetons first appeared publicly by their present name on the Bonneville map.<sup>48</sup>

Both Jim Bridger and Kit Carson led bands of trappers through Jackson Hole on the way to the Green River rendezvous in 1839, and the following year Lucien Fontenelle led 100 men, including Carson, through Jackson Hole for a fall hunt on the Yellowstone, and returned to the 1840 rendezvous on the Green River.<sup>49</sup>

The famous Belgian priest, Father Pierre DeSmet, held the first mass in the Rockies north of the Spanish settlements in late June or early July, 1840.<sup>50</sup> Father DeSmet had come to the area at the invitation of the Nez Perce Indians, and it was just before his party entered present Teton County from the south, near the town of Daniel, that the famous mass was said. The group reached the mouth of the Hoback about July 10 and crossed the Snake River,<sup>51</sup> traversed Teton Pass into Pierre's Hole, then headed northwest.<sup>52</sup>

The year 1841 signalled the end of the rendezvous system, and by 1842 the American fur trade was in a moribund condition, a victim of mismanagement, fluctuating trade patterns, settlement of the land, swiftly changing styles, and the attendant drop in fur prices. The Teton country, which had been the stage for one of the most dramatic scenes in the history of the west, and the center of activity for a generation, was now forgotten. This uniquely spectacular area, five days' ride from Fort Hall, far from the Oregon Trail and the valleys of Montana, and far from the later Bozeman Trail and Virginia City Road, seems to have been left untouched by white hands for the next twenty years.

### EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

From 1840 until 1860 the Teton-Yellowstone country was forgotten by virtually everyone except a handful of early-day mountain men who had hunted and trapped the area. Jim Bridger was one who never forgot the splendor of the place, and he appropriately guided the expedition which "rediscovered" the Tetons and Jackson Hole in 1860.

Captain W. F. Raynolds of the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers was ordered to lead an exploring party into the Yellowstone country, the first such government expedition into the area. In May of 1860 Raynolds led his men to the confluence of the Wind River and Popo Agie. Here the expedition divided on May

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48. Mattes, *Colter's Hell and Jackson's Hole*, op. cit., p. 7.

49. Watson, op. cit., p. 44.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

51. The Snake River (the "Mad River" of the Astorians) was first publicly designated on the Greenhow map of 1840. Mattes, *Colter's Hell and Jackson's Hole*, op. cit., p. 7.

52. Watson, op. cit., p. 45.

24. Raynolds, it was decided, would take his segment up Wind River and cross to the headwaters of the Yellowstone. The rest of the group, under the leadership of Lieutenant Maynadier, was to move around the eastern and northern periphery of the Absarokas and meet Raynolds at the Three Forks of the Missouri on July 1; he made it on July 3. Raynolds arrived at their prearranged meeting place first, but had his share of the problems en route. Raynolds ascended the Wind River according to plan and made a troublesome crossing of Union Pass. Raynolds named Union Pass at that time.<sup>1</sup> He turned north and attempted to cross Two Ocean Pass to the headwaters of the Yellowstone, but failed because of hopelessly deep snows. The party then followed the Gros Ventre into Jackson Hole, coming in view of the Tetons on June 9. It required several days to cross the swollen Snake River, and one man was lost in the effort. They finally succeeded with a thong-bound frame boat covered with a rubberized blanket which had been smeared with pitch.<sup>2</sup>

Raynolds kept his party in Jackson Hole for several days before moving on. He and his geologist, Ferdinand V. Hayden, wanted to climb the Grand Teton, but Jim Bridger convinced them that it was impossible.<sup>3</sup> While in the valley, where they remained until June 18, Raynolds was visited by a band of Chief Cut Nose's Snake Indians.<sup>4</sup> Bridger then led the expedition over Teton Pass into Pierre's Hole, and this proved to be his last look at the Tetons.

Shortly after Raynolds returned to civilization with his expedition the Civil War broke out and less important matters, such as exploration, were forgotten for the duration of the conflict. Also, the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862 did much to diminish the popularity of adjacent areas; and while the Raynolds report was not made public until 1868, the expedition's maps were published, and found great usefulness in the hands of Montana gold-seekers after 1862.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the activity in the Jackson Hole area during the 1860s can be traced to gold fever, the Raynolds expedition excepted. Walter W. DeLacy organized the first prospecting party of note to enter Jackson Hole. Delacy, an early-day Montana engineer and surveyor, left Virginia City, Montana, with his party of 42 men on August 3, 1863. They headed south into Idaho until reaching the Snake River, then followed it upstream to Jackson Lake. The

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1. William F. Raynolds, "Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone and the Country Drained by that River," 40th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document 77 (1868).

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *Yellowstone National Park*. (Cincinnati: The R. Clarke Company, 1895), p. 55.

ruggedness of the trail caused two of DeLacy's pack horses to slip over the side and fall onto the rocks along the raging Snake River far below.<sup>6</sup> This party was not equipped for topographical reconnaissance, as DeLacy and his men appear to have been interested only in prospecting for paydirt. DeLacy himself remarked that "opportunities for making any very accurate or extended observations were very limited. There was not a telescope, and hardly a watch, in the whole party."<sup>7</sup>

The expedition encamped near the mouth of Buffalo Fork where the men decided to break up into small parties in order to cover more terrain. Diligent searching throughout the last week in August unearthed none of the precious metal, the men became disheartened, and the project was abandoned. Fifteen men returned home by the same route the party had used to enter the valley. DeLacy and 27 members of the party went north into what is now Yellowstone Park, but again with no luck. Although DeLacy failed in his prospecting efforts, his wanderings were significant. He published a map soon afterwards which was remarkable for its general accuracy of topographical detail in the Teton-Yellowstone area; he also kept a journal<sup>8</sup> of his daily activities, although it was not published until 1876.

In 1864 James Stuart led a 73-man prospecting expedition from Deer Lodge, Montana, to the valley of the Stinking Water (Shoshone). The party splintered at this point and most of the men returned to the Montana settlements. One small band, however, went south all the way to the Sweetwater River and crossed to the Green and Snake Rivers. They followed the Snake to Jackson Hole where they prospected briefly, then recrossed the Continental Divide at Two Ocean Pass, descended the Yellowstone, passed Yellowstone Lake and the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, and moved on beyond the present limits of the Park.<sup>9</sup>

Jackson Hole and the surrounding mountains and canyons never yielded precious minerals in paying quantities. The optimism of early-day prospectors is still evidenced in the valley floor, however. About 1870 a ditch was constructed to divert water from the mountains to placer mines in the valley. Today known as "Ditch Creek," this channel still exists as mute testimony to the labors of one hard-working party. Also, numerous prospect pits may still be found in Jackson Hole.

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6. Walter W. DeLacy, "A Trip up the South Snake River in 1863," *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* (Helena, Montana: 1876), p. 120.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-143.

9. Granville Stuart, "Life of James Stuart," *Contributions to the State Historical Society of Montana* (Helena, Montana: 1876), pp. 36-79; and Chittenden, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Ferdinand V. Hayden, who had accompanied the Reynolds party as geologist, later became famous after having conducted several expeditions into the intermountain west. James Stevenson commanded the Snake River division of Hayden's 1872 expedition, and spent considerable time mapping and exploring the Teton area.

In September of 1872 Stevenson began leading his party from the Yellowstone country toward the Tetons. Richard Leigh, a Jackson Hole hunter and trapper who guided the party while in this area, met Stevenson above Jackson Lake, and here they made camp September 19-21. Leigh was a picturesque individual and is a story in himself. An Englishman by birth, he married a Shoshone Indian girl, and his protruding incisors earned him the nickname "Beaver Dick."<sup>10</sup> The party camped on the shore of Jackson Lake September 22-24, on String Lake at the base of the Tetons September 25-26, and exited the valley via Teton pass on October 1.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the lakes in Jackson Hole were named after the members of Stevenson's party—Bradley Lake after Frank H. Bradley, chief geologist, and Taggart Lake after his assistant, W. R. Taggart. Jenny Lake was named in honor of "Beaver Dick's" Shoshone Indian wife, and Leigh Lake commemorates the colorful Englishman himself. Phelps Lake owes its name to an itinerant hunter who frequented the area. Coulter Creek was named for John M. Coulter, Hayden's botanist, and Mount Leidy for his paleontologist. Mount Moran honors the now legendary artist, Thomas Moran, who accompanied the expedition as a guest. However, the famed pioneer photographer, William Henry Jackson, took the first known photographs of the Tetons at this time. His pictures were to make him one of the expedition's most valuable members.<sup>12</sup>

Curiously enough, the Grand Teton had been renamed Mount Hayden earlier in 1872, but enjoyed little if any popularity outside of Hayden's own circle; and it is to Hayden's everlasting credit that he himself did not favor changing the Grand Teton's name.<sup>13</sup>

The primary importance of the 1872 Hayden Expedition is that as a result of their reports on the phenomena of the Yellowstone region, for example, Mammoth Hot Spring, Upper Geyser Basin, Yellowstone Lake and the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, and field reports on zoology, geology, botany, paleontology, and mete-

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10. "Beaver Dick" Leigh's diary is on file in the Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming. Olaus and Margaret Murie's *Wapiti Wilderness* devotes a chapter to Leigh's diaries.

11. Ferdinand V. Hayden, *Sixth Annual Report of the United States Geological Surveys for the Year 1872* (Washington: 1873).

12. *Ibid.*; and William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 512.

13. B. W. Driggs, *History of Teton Valley, Idaho* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1926), p. 119.

orology, the area was made into a national park.<sup>14</sup> Also, this expedition was particularly important for the effect that it had on place names in Jackson Hole. Most of the region's major lakes, as well as several creeks and mountain peaks, received names at that time. For the most part, those names are still used today.

The Jones Expedition of 1873 is apparently one of the least known expeditions to enter the Jackson Hole area. This is ironic in view of the fact that Captain W. A. Jones, the expedition's commander, left a detailed account.<sup>15</sup> The purpose of the expedition, in the words of Brigadier General A. A. Humphreys, chief of engineers, was to provide the data necessary to "open a route that, whatever may be the advantages of the Missouri River route, would tend to keep down rates, and would prove advantageous to the government in the transportation of military and Indian supplies."<sup>16</sup> Jones' orders were to conduct a reconnaissance northward from Fort Bridger to Yellowstone Park and the settlements north of it, by way of the Wind River Valley and upper Yellowstone. The proposed road would provide a direct route from the Union Pacific Railroad to the above-mentioned area. Despite the thorough fashion in which Jones accomplished his mission, no such route was established; however, his discovery of Togwottee Pass in early September of 1873<sup>17</sup> makes the journey worth remembering.

One of the last and most remarkable of the exploratory expeditions into the Teton country was the Doane expedition. With orders to explore the Snake River from Yellowstone Lake to the Columbia, Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane embarked from Fort Ellis, Montana, on October 10, 1876. Doane was an experienced and adventuresome soldier and expressed little reluctance to tackle this rugged piece of terrain, even though winter was about to set in. He carefully outfitted his six-man mounted detail with Arctic clothing and equipment and began the gruelling march. Doane had commanded the military escort which accompanied General Washburn's 1870 Yellowstone expedition (sometimes called the Doane-Washburn Expedition<sup>18</sup>) and was already familiar with some of the terrain in question.

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14. Before the vote was taken regarding the creation of Yellowstone Park, Hayden placed copies of William H. Jackson's photographs and portfolios on every congressman's desk, an act which must have influenced the legislators. This friendly persuasion also was a positive influence, no doubt, in securing further appropriations for future expeditions.

15. William B. Jones, *Report on the Reconnaissance of Northern Wyoming, Yellowstone Park, made in the Summer of 1873* (Washington: 1875).

16. *Ibid.*

17. Goetzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-412.

18. Edmund Christopherson, *Behold the Grand Tetons* (Missoula, Montana: 1961), pp. 29-31; and Elizabeth Wied Hayden, *From Trapper to Tourist in Jackson Hole*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. For Doane's earlier role in the Doane-Washburn Expedition, see Lt. Gustavus C. Doane, "The Yellowstone

On the third day, their heavily laden wagon collapsed near Mammoth Hot Spring and the supplies had to be trans-loaded to pack animals. They encamped at the outlet of Yellowstone Lake on October 23 to weather a severe blizzard. Deciding that lake travel would be faster and easier, the party assembled the boat, the parts of which had been packed with their provisions. They made 15 miles before high waves swamped the craft. They salvaged and dried their equipment, repaired the boat, and carried it to Heart Lake. Doane's emaciated band reached Jackson Lake on November 23, having left Fort Ellis 43 days before. They not only had to cope with unfavorable terrain as they went, but also with terrible weather.

The situation was by that time growing desperate for Doane and his men. They shot a deer near Moran Bay, but the animal was diseased and every man in the expedition became violently ill. By now both sick and hungry, the men ate their fatigued horses. Near present Wilson, the tired group met John Pierce, "Beaver Dick" Leigh's trapping partner, who gave them a quarter of elk meat. After a nightmarish walk down the edge of the Grand Canyon of the Snake, during which they lost the rest of their equipment, Doane led his group into the Idaho mining country. Having gone 80 hours without food, all members foundered from overeating.<sup>19</sup>

Doane and his men then started for Fort Hall, Idaho. En route they were intercepted by an infantry detail which had been sent to arrest them as deserters. The crowning blow came when they discovered that a \$30 reward had been placed on the head of every man in the expedition! In spite of his ordeal, Doane favored retracing the latter part of his journey, feeling that the area deserved more attention than he had been able to give under such adverse circumstances. His request was refused, however, and the party returned to Fort Ellis.<sup>20</sup>

The year 1860 marked the beginning of a long series of expeditions into the Teton country. Between 1860 and 1876 there were at least four major, government-sponsored explorations, plus the several large prospecting parties which operated in the area. Both sources provided a really large amount of data on geography, geology, topography, wild plant and animal life, and the history of Jackson Hole and the Tetons. The result was that the area received more attention than its remoteness would at first glance seem to justify. Of course, Yellowstone Park was, after 1872, understandably the center of attention. Nevertheless, the Teton area had received enough publicity by the last decade of the century to

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"Expedition of 1870," 41st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Executive Document 51 (1870-71).

19. Christopherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31; and Hayden, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

20. *Ibid.*

likewise fire the imagination of many park-minded people. The wonders of the Yellowstone and the exploration which advertised the splendors of both areas helped establish a framework for the movement which later resulted in the creation of Grand Teton National Park.

The great changes which were sweeping the Rocky Mountain west by the 1860s and 1870s had very little direct impact on the Teton country, that is, the building of the railroad, the subjugation of the Indians, the coming of the cattle industry. This fact in itself appealed to some outdoor-minded people, though, for after the first prospecting parties appeared on the scene, a more or less permanent citizenry came into being in Jackson Hole. Trappers again came to the area, but of a type far different from Ashley's "one hundred young men." These latter-day mountain men simply eked out a living by hunting and trapping wild game. The profit motive had become much less important with the decline of the American fur market, and about all one could now expect for a free, simple, unhindered way of life.

By the 1880s, the world was already awakening to the natural beauty which characterizes the Tetons, due largely, as noted earlier, to the publicity which neighboring Yellowstone Park was by then receiving. In 1883 President Chester A. Arthur took a very elaborate pack trip into Yellowstone, perhaps the largest and best equipped expedition of its kind ever to enter the area. The President had a party of dignitaries with him, and was escorted by a troop of cavalry. Of 18 camps made, six were in Jackson Hole.<sup>21</sup>

Also by the 1880s Jackson Hole and the surrounding country had become known to a small circle of European hunters of royal blood and considerable means. However, none of them left much of a mark on the wildly primitive area, and the task of taming it devolved on hunters of a less pretentious kind. During this decade, several hunters and trappers were working the area for both pleasure and profit, and some of them had built permanent cabins by 1884. By 1885 a small trickle of settlers began entering Jackson Hole. As Elizabeth W. Hayden explains:

John Holland decided to settle in Jackson Hole instead of trapping there off and on, and in 1884 built a cabin on the present government ranch near his friend John Carnes and his Indian wife. It was the first homestead in Jackson Hole, and had the first territorial water right in the valley. Carnes and Holland brought the first wagon in by way of Green River, Bacon Creek and the Gros Ventre in 1884.

Robert E. Miller came to locate permanently in 1885, eventually to become the wealthiest man in Jackson Hole and a leading citizen. Frank Woods and William Crawford came in 1886, followed by "Uncle Jack" Hicks, John Cherry and Dick Turpin. That same year Joe Infanger and Adolph Miller drove in the first wagon to come over

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21. Elizabeth Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Teton Pass on its own wheels. The year 1888 saw J. Pierce Cunningham in Jackson Hole, as well as Steve Leek and his partner Nicholas Gas. The following year Leek went out and brought in his half-brothers, Charles and Ham Wort. Mose Giltner, Brig and Andy Adams and John Sargent and his partner Ray Hamilton, great grandson of Alexander Hamilton, came about this time. Martin Nelson brought his wife Berthe and four-year-old daughter Cora over Teton Pass on horseback in 1888. When the first Mormon families came in 1889 they found forty bachelors settled in the valley as well as the Nelson family and Johnny Carnes and his Indian wife Millie.<sup>22</sup>

Because of its remoteness and inaccessibility, it was perhaps inevitable that Jackson Hole would attract a number of people who preferred their law in small doses, if at all. One such individual was a picturesque character with the unlikely name of "Teton" Jackson. Jackson (the third famous—or perhaps in this case infamous—Jackson to be associated with Jackson Hole, having been preceded by David E. Jackson the trapper, and William H. Jackson, the frontier painter and photographer) was a slippery desperado with a price on his head and a long record of offenses, including both robbery and murder.<sup>23</sup> In the early 1880s he had about a dozen toughs on his payroll, and used Jackson Hole as a base of operations for horse-stealing forays into Idaho. "Teton" seems to have had things his own way until he made the mistake of crossing Johnson County when Frank Canton was sheriff. Canton, who possibly exceeded even "Teton" Jackson in slipperiness, proved to be more than a match for the outlaw from Jackson Hole, neatly apprehended him, and had him trundled off to the penitentiary in Boise. The presence of such elements in Jackson Hole prompted Canton to refer to it as "the most talked-of outlaw rendezvous in the world."<sup>24</sup>

In 1886 another incident occurred which lends credence to Sheriff Canton's candid reference. Four German prospectors, August Kellenberger, T. H. Tiggerman, Henry Welter, and John Tonnar, moved from Butte, Montana, into Jackson Hole to search for gold. Tonnar was a newcomer to the prospecting party, and there is evidence that he was by no means its most popular member.

One day A. F. Free, a conductor on the Southern Pacific Railroad, was fishing along the Snake River when he came upon three badly decomposed bodies. Closer examination proved that they were the bodies of Welter, Tellenberger, and Tiggerman.

Meanwhile, in July, Tonnar had suddenly shown up in Pierre's Hole at the ranch of Emile Wolff, who, ironically enough, had been

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22. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

23. Edward Everett Dale, ed., *Frontier Trails: The Autobiography of Frank M. Canton* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 36-42; and William Gardner Bell, "Frontier Lawman," *The American West*, Vol. I, No. 3 (1961), p. 8.

24. Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Welter's boyhood friend. Tonnar explained that the others had gone hunting, and immediately went to work for Wolff as a ranch hand. After the bodies of his companions had been found, Tonnar was taken into custody and tried in Evanston the following year. He confessed to the gruesome killing, saying that he had acted in self defense. Since each of the three dead men had a peculiar gash in his head with no other wounds evident, Tonnar's self-defense plea sounded flimsy, but he was cleared and released for lack of witnesses. He immediately disappeared. That section of the Snake River along which the bodies of the three prospectors were found is still called "Deadman's Bar."<sup>25</sup>

Settlers continued to trickle into the Teton area throughout the late 1880s, and by 1889 there were 64 people living within the confines of what is now Teton County.<sup>26</sup> By the early 1890s, Jackson Hole contained a flourishing, if somewhat remote, community. It was still a very wild area too, as events in the 1890s would illustrate.

During the fall of 1892, two alleged horse thieves entered Jackson Hole with a splendid string of horses. At first, their character seems not to have been questioned, for Pierce Cunningham sold them hay and loaned them his cabin on Spread Creek. As the winter wore on, several citizens claimed to have recognized some of the horses' brands as those of various local ranchers and concluded that the two men must definitely be rustlers.

In the spring of 1893 a United States marshal by the name of Anderson led a 16-man posse comprised of local citizens to the Cunningham cabin to apprehend the bandits. The men of the posse concealed themselves in the barn at night and ambushed the two men, Spencer and Burnett, as they came out of the cabin the next morning. "Swede" Jackson, Cunningham's partner, and Ed Hunter were also in the cabin at the time. Hunter, apparently ignorant of what was happening, fired a shot at his neighbors in the posse, but since neither Hunter nor Jackson was implicated in horse-stealing operations, charges were not pressed against them. The bodies of the two supposed rustlers were buried nearby.<sup>27</sup> Some of the local citizens were something less than proud of the incident at the Cunningham cabin, and it has been suggested that the posse members were perhaps more strongly motivated by the reward which they hoped to collect for apprehending the two men, than by a desire to see justice done.

The first post office in Jackson Hole was established on the

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25. Fritiof M. Fryxell, "The Story of Deadman's Bar," *Annals of Wyoming, op. cit.*, pp. 129-148.

26. Elizabeth Stone, *Uinta County: Its Place in History*. (Laramie: 1924), p. 233.

27. Elizabeth Hayden, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

Frank E. White ranch in 1892. It was called Marysvale in honor of White's wife, who was the first postmistress. The post office was moved to John Simpson's ranch on Cache Creek in 1894, and renamed Jackson. It is interesting to note, however, that Marysvale remained the headquarters for the settlers for some time.<sup>28</sup>

Although Jackson is Teton County's only incorporated town to this very day, it is not the only major settlement in the Valley. Wilson was founded in 1895 by Elijah N. "Uncle Nick" Wilson, an early-day Mormon settler. "Uncle Nick's" colorful career included such episodes as living two years with the Lemhi Indians, and riding for the Pony Express. The first white births, as well as the first deaths among the settlers in the valley, were in the Wilson family. Effie Wilson was born in 1891, and two of Sylvester Wilson's children died of diphtheria. Sylvester was "Uncle Nick's" brother and leader of the first Mormon party into what is now Teton County. The first cemetery was in South Park, immediately south of the town of Jackson.<sup>29</sup>

The Mormons had the first church in Jackson Hole, and it was in South Park, having been built in 1894.<sup>30</sup> That group also had the first church in the town of Jackson. It was constructed in 1905 at a cost of \$3000. Fourteen families contributed \$2500, while the Mormon church came forth with \$500. Parker and Mullins were the building contractors.<sup>31</sup> By 1911 the Episcopalians, inspired by the Reverend Royal H. Balcom, had built a rest home, and by 1916 had begun work on a hospital and church. By 1912 the Baptists, under the guidance of Reverend Baxter, could also boast the construction of a church.<sup>32</sup>

This flurry of church activity should not be interpreted to mean that the citizens of Jackson Hole suddenly succumbed to an attack of religious fervor. The erection of a new church was, and in a small community sometimes still is, one measure of progress, a headquarters for social activity and community action.

William Dunn and Al Austin drove the first car into Jackson in 1911; it was a Cadillac. By 1915, Charles Wort and Richard Winger had opened an automobile business in Wort's livery barn. In 1916 Walt Spicer opened Jackson's first actual automobile agency.<sup>33</sup>

Institutionalized local financing became available in 1914 when the Jackson State Bank opened with a modest capital of \$10,000.

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28. Agnes Wright Spring, "An Indian Fight in Jackson Hole," *Old West*, Vol. III, No. 3, (1967), p. 2.

29. Elizabeth Hayden, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

31. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

32. Elizabeth Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

33. *Ibid.*

Robert E. Miller was president of the new bank, Hyrum Deloney was vice-president, and Harry Wagner was cashier.<sup>34</sup>

As will become increasingly apparent in later chapters, the area that is now Teton County has, in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, possessed a knack for making national headlines. For example, a unique incident occurred in 1920 which aroused amusement and interest throughout the nation: Jackson, having been incorporated in 1914, became the only city in the United States to be governed by a woman mayor and an all-woman city council. The mayor was Mrs. Robert E. Miller and the council consisted of Mrs. William Deloney, Mrs. Crabtree, Mrs. D. H. Haight, and Mrs. C. R. Van Fleck.<sup>35</sup>

The citizens of Jackson Hole were becoming more politically conscious and this awareness was not without its practical considerations. When Wyoming became a territory in 1868, a strip of land along the entire western boundary was left unorganized. The next year, the entire strip became Uinta County, with Evanston, in the southern end, as the county seat. Since Jackson Hole lay at the extreme northern end of this newly organized area, it meant that the people there were about 200 miles from their county seat!<sup>36</sup> Aside from the enormous distance involved, the true significance of this situation can be fully appreciated only if one considers the weather that characterizes western Wyoming throughout much of the year, and that the horse was still the only mode of travel. Of course, there were not enough people in Jackson Hole and the surrounding area in the 1860s to show that the problem really existed; furthermore, the few people who were there that early were intent on hunting, trapping, prospecting, or exploring, and would have had a very limited amount of political business to conduct.

The situation was rapidly changing, however, by the late 1880s, and by the turn of the century, the citizens of northern Uinta County were at a terrific disadvantage. In 1912 the situation was ameliorated somewhat when Lincoln County was created from the northern portion of Uinta County. The county seat was Kemmerer, which meant that the people of Jackson were still over 180 miles away, and this, understandably, was never very satisfactory to them.

In 1921 a final solution was found for the problem. Teton County was created from the northern end of Lincoln County, with Jackson as the county seat. It is an interesting fact that Teton County fell considerably short of meeting minimum requirements for county status, in both revenue and population. Though illegal,

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34. *Ibid.*

35. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

36. Elizabeth Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

and challenged by a number of lawsuits, the new county was allowed to remain in existence. The area's remoteness was undoubtedly considered as a positive factor when a special act was later passed legalizing the unusual creation of Teton County. Even so, the county did not start functioning as a political entity until the beginning of 1923.<sup>37</sup>

In July of 1923 Teton County's first session of district court was held. Judge Arnold presided.<sup>38</sup> At long last, the people who lived in the shadow of the majestic Tetons had their own government. Their political isolation was now complete.

## WILDLIFE

One of Teton County's major natural resources is its high concentration of wild game. For over a century the area's excellent hunting has attracted outsiders from all over the world, and has provided local residents, from the days of the first settlers, with a convenient and substantial source of revenue.

As early as 1837 Captain William Drummond Stewart<sup>1</sup> of Murthly Castle, Scotland, led an elaborate hunting party into Jackson Hole. The effects of such activities were, of course, of no economic importance until there were people in the area to capitalize on the expensive tastes of wealthy sportsmen. By the 1880s and 1890s the situation was beginning to change, due in part to the publicity which Jackson Hole had received as a result of the reports of well-heeled sportsmen, but due also to the fact that many of the local residents recognized that their services as hunting guides had a ready market; hence, non-resident hunting was encouraged and solicited. The latter was undoubtedly one factor, among several others, to be sure, which helped set the stage for one of the most important court cases to date involving wildlife management and the enforcement of state game laws. Known as the "Race Horse Case,"<sup>2</sup> this dispute was not settled until 1896, though the groundwork had been laid during the previous generation.

On July 3, 1868, at Fort Bridger, then in Utah, but in Wyoming three weeks later, when Wyoming became a territory, the United States government concluded a treaty with both the Shoshone and

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37. File folder in Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming.

38. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

1. Mae Reed Porter and Odessa Davenport, *Scotsman in Buckskin* (New York: Hastings House, 1963), p. 161.

2. For a readable narrative of the events in Jackson Hole regarding the Race Horse story, see Agnes Wright Spring, "An Indian Fight in Jackson Hole," *Old West*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-7, 36.

Bannock tribes of Indians. Variously known as the "Connor Treaty," or the "Fort Bridger Treaty," Article 4 of the document<sup>3</sup> gave these Indians the right to hunt on lands of the United States as long as these same lands were unoccupied and peace prevailed among Indians and Whites on the borders of the areas involved. Also, the Connor Treaty created the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming and the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho. It is an interesting and somewhat curious fact that both tribes voluntarily divided their numbers between the two reservations. This is of importance later, as these Indians frequently exchanged visits and often hunted together.

Significantly, Jackson Hole, the hunting rights for which were ceded to the two tribes as a part of the unoccupied area in question, soon became a favorite hunting ground for the Indians. This was perhaps inevitable considering the availability of elk there. Furthermore, it can hardly be argued that Jackson Hole was anything but unoccupied in 1868.

It should be pointed out that some of the problems of Wyoming's elk were recognized almost as soon as the territory was organized, at both territorial and national levels. As early as 1869 Congress approved legislation which prohibited the sale of elk and other big game between February 1 and August 15. This was clearly aimed at "market hunting" and did not prevent hunters and trappers from occasionally replenishing the larder with fresh elk meat. In 1871, however, the restrictions became a bit more severe, with a closed season for all big game from March 1 to August 15.

The importance of the Jackson Hole elk herd increased in proportion to the increase in the human population. When Wyoming became a state on July 10, 1890, more effective game laws were passed. Almost immediately, hunting was suspended completely throughout ten months of the year. A glimpse at the fabulous hunting in Wyoming was provided in September of 1892 when Theodore Roosevelt wrote in *Century* magazine about elk hunting at Two Ocean Pass.<sup>4</sup> In 1895 machinery was set up for the management of the state's wildlife when the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission replaced the Wyoming Fish Commission which had been created in 1879; concurrent with the creation of the new agency, a \$20 non-resident license law was passed. Also, the big game season was closed except during the months of September, October, and November, and was limited to males only.<sup>5</sup>

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3. "In Re Race Horse," *Federal Reporter*, LXX (November, 1895-January 1896), p. 599, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming.

4. Robert L. Casebeer, Range Conservationist, Teton National Forest, U. S. Forest Service, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, April, 1966.

5. *Federal Reporter*, p. 603.

Even before the enactment of the 1895 state game laws, the Secretary of the Interior, to whom the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was directly responsible, must have foreseen possible trouble between Indian hunting parties and white settlers in some of the newly occupied lands, if not specifically in Jackson Hole. There is an implied uneasiness in his 1889 circular to all Indian agents reminding them that the Connor Treaty of 1868 allowed the Indians to kill only as much game as was necessary for their needs, and that slaughtering animals just for their hides was a violation of the treaty.<sup>6</sup> Five years later, in 1894, this admonition was again called to the attention of Indian agents.

It might actually have been the passage of the new hunting regulations in 1895 which caused, or at least expedited, a confrontation between Indians and white settlers. The Indians could still hunt anywhere at any time. However, the white citizens, many of whom were not only ranchers, but by this time big game guides as well, had their activities sharply curtailed by a new set of rules.

By the summer of 1895 the situation was explosive, to say the least. During the early summer, Indians, mostly Bannocks from Fort Hall, killed elk throughout the Jackson Hole area. The white settlers decided that the situation had already gotten out of hand and decided to do something. They protested to the Indian agent at Fort Hall, and to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C. They insisted that the Bannocks were leaving most of the meat to rot, and demanded that appropriate action be taken. Nothing was done. Constable William Manning telegraphed an appeal to the Secretary of War. His telegram was ignored. Constable Manning, a former buffalo hunter who had fought Indians under General Nelson Miles, decided that if the Jackson Hole elk were to be saved from extinction, immediate action would be necessary.

Governor W. A. Richards insisted that even the Indians must obey the state game laws, and in so doing established an important precedent. Other states which were affected by the Connor Treaty were apparently making no effort to force Indian compliance with state game laws. Richards, however, promised Manning and Justice of the Peace Frank Rhodes his full support in making Indian arrests, and full protection in the event of involvement with federal authorities.<sup>7</sup>

Constable Manning, confident of the governor's support, and no doubt a little bitter at the federal government's lack of cooperation, organized a 10-man posse and began patrolling the Gros Ventre River for poachers. Subsequently, they encountered a small band

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6. Spring, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

of Indians, both Bannocks and Shoshones, and arrested them. The Indians had in their possession over 200 elk hides prepared for tanning. The Indians were tried for hunting out of season and Rhodes fined each of them \$75 and costs; unable to pay, their horses and equipment were confiscated to cover the court costs. Four of the arrested Indians were Shoshones, were relatively cooperative, and told the authorities that a large number of Bannocks who were camped in the Hoback Basin with a band of Shoshones were looking for trouble.

The convicted Bannocks were taken to Evanston to serve their sentences. The authorities at the county seat were of a very different view, however, never themselves having challenged the validity of the Connor Treaty. They were further upset when it was revealed that the defendants had not committed the alleged crime in full view of the arresting officers; that is, the poachers had not actually been caught in the act.<sup>8</sup>

The people of Jackson Hole had now been either rebuffed or ignored by authorities at every level of government from county to national, with the sole exception of Governor Richards, and even he had given only moral support. The last straw came when three special constables who attempted to arrest a party of Bannocks with fresh elk hides in their possession were forced, at gunpoint, to leave empty-handed. This was a bitter pill to swallow and it was then that the white settlers decided to unilaterally put an end to the poaching problem.

The target was the Indian camp in Hoback Basin. Meanwhile, the camp had been alerted by the hunting party which had resisted arrest. The Shoshones, not wishing to press the issue with angry, armed settlers, parted company with their Bannock friends and moved east to a new camp on Green River. The Bannocks sat tight and continued their activities.

Realizing that a successful coup would require some planning, the settlers conducted a thorough reconnaissance before deciding upon their tactics. They decided not to attack from the north, which was the logical and most direct route, since the Indians would obviously expect just that. Instead, they planned to approach from the east and take the savages by surprise. Thirty-eight men were deputized at the prearranged rendezvous at Warm Springs on the Gros Ventre River. In conjunction with their plan to cross over onto Green River, then proceed down to Hoback Basin, the party made camp the second night on the divide between the two rivers. The next morning they sighted the Shoshone camp at the confluence of Green River and Rock Creek. After a few tense moments, the hopelessly outnumbered Shoshones surrendered and the entire party, complete with equipment, was taken to

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Marysvale. Plans were then made to round up the Bannocks by employing the same general plan of attack.<sup>9</sup>

Manning's next posse was considerably smaller than the previous one, consisting of only 22 men. Through the use of scouting parties, the posse was able to pinpoint the exact location of the Bannock camp, as well as the number of Indians, lodges, and horses. The camp was completely surrounded just before day-break, and the Indians, after a short moment's reflection, wisely surrendered. The camp was large and the posse members feared trouble on the way back. In this, they were not disappointed.

Constable Manning, hoping to avoid a fracas, but not wishing to lose any of his prisoners, ordered his men to shoot the horse from under any Indian attempting to escape. When the caravan broke noon camp on the Hoback River, the Indians very carefully mounted their best and freshest horses. The significance of this move appears to have escaped their captors at the time. While traveling single file down the narrow trail, a sudden prearranged signal cleverly sent all Indians in a wild dash to the right, making it clumsy for right-handed shooters to find easy targets. A few shots were fired in the melee, and the settlers were left with one aged Indian dead, a badly wounded Indian youth, a two-year-old papoose, and well over 100 head of Indian ponies and pack animals loaded with duffle. One papoose was lost in the scuffle and never found. All Indian duffle and equipment was left in a pile on the ground and the horses were turned loose. The settlers returned to their homes empty-handed, and a report was telegraphed to Governor Richards. News of the "Indian Trouble" traveled like wildfire on the outside as a New York newspaper proclaimed: ALL RESIDENTS OF JACKSON HOLE, WYOMING MASCACRED!

The local settlers, themselves now thoroughly alarmed at the prospects of Indian war, hurriedly constructed three "forts:" one at Irv Wilson's ranch, one at the Robert E. Miller ranch, and a third at the Pierce Cunningham place.<sup>10</sup>

The situation in Jackson Hole was by that time a most dangerous one. The Indians at Fort Hall were in a very ugly mood. Also, Governor Richards telegraphed Washington that 200 Indians, presumably Utes, had been seen near South Pass, plus 47 Sioux on Bad Water Creek; all were armed, mounted, and traveling without women and children. The War Department, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Governor Richards were trying desperately to keep abreast of events in Jackson Hole. Finally, two troops of the Ninth Cavalry were sent to the scene, and elements of the Eighth Infantry were placed on alert at Fort Hall. Agents at the

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9. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Sioux, Shoshone, Lemhi, Uintah, and Ouray agencies were ordered to call all of their Indians home.<sup>11</sup>

The Indians were not without their sympathizers. After investigation, both the Interior and War Departments felt that the Indians were being deprived of their treaty rights and that the Jackson Hole settlers were incensed simply because the Indians were cutting into what had become a lucrative business centered around guiding and tourism.<sup>12</sup> Nor had the killing of the old Bannock gone unnoticed. A United States marshal arrested William Manning and several of his men and took them before a grand jury, which refused to indict them.<sup>13</sup>

Governor Richards by now had been placed in a most embarrassing position, since Manning had acted with his approval. Finally, both sides agreed to settle the dispute with a test case in court. It was decided that Chief Race Horse of the Bannocks would represent the Indian and hence, the government's side; charges already were pending against him for having killed seven elk out of season. At his trial in the Cheyenne Circuit Court, many people in the state were either outraged or disappointed when Judge John A. Riner found him innocent and ordered his release.

Much of the nation's press had been devoting considerable space to the Race Horse case. Generally speaking, a particular newspaper's stand was governed by its proximity to Wyoming, and therefore the amount of "unoccupied" land in its area. The *Omaha Bee*, *Chicago Record*, and *Chicago Times-Herald*, for example, supported Judge Riner's decision. The *Salt Lake Herald*, and the *Rocky Mountain News* agreed that the judge had grossly erred. Of the 17 Wyoming newspapers investigated, only two were not hostile to the court's ruling. The following typifies the reaction of the majority of Wyoming's newspapers:

Judge Riner's decision against the state in the Jackson Hole trouble may be and probably is good law, but it is very unfortunate for the state, nevertheless. It means that in the future certain portions of Wyoming will be overrun with lousy redskins and that the wild game will be exterminated in a few years. It means further that there will be innumerable conflicts between the White settlers who are amenable to the state laws and the redskins, who can slaughter game at will. An appeal will be taken from Judge Riner's decision to the Supreme Court of the United States.<sup>14</sup>

The case was appealed at Governor Richard's insistence. While Judge Willis Van Devanter was in the process of preparing Wyoming's case, he hinted at the political importance of the case when

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11. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-36.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

13. *Ibid.*

14. The Laramie Republican, VI (November 23, 1895), Race Horse File, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming.

he wrote to the following to Senator Francis E. Warren: "If the Governor's course can be sustained by the Supreme Court it will help his administration and will help us [the Republicans] politically all over the state and will do us untold good in the northern half of Uinta County . . ." Judge Van Devanter convincingly presented his state's case before the Supreme Court, for on May 25, 1896, the court reversed Judge Riner's decision. The Supreme Court ruled that Wyoming had entered the union on a basis equal with the original states, that each individual state had the unquestioned right to establish and enforce its own game laws, and that the land in question was no longer unoccupied territory as it had been in 1868.<sup>15</sup>

The status of Indian treaties which were in conflict with the sovereignty of individual states was thereby resolved, and Wyoming was permitted to regulate its game harvest. All agencies concerned agreed to the release of Chief Race Horse.<sup>16</sup> Sheriff John Ward of Uinta County, into whose custody the Chief returned after the Supreme Court's decision, set him free, and no further charges were pressed against any of the Indians concerned. The Bannocks later were compensated for their lost hunting rights.<sup>17</sup> Thus, an important milestone was reached in the fight to save the elk of Jackson Hole, although, as we shall see, the battle really had just begun.

Indiscriminate poaching for hides, heads, and meat has by no means been the only threat to the elk population. The elk, much to his misfortune in times past, possesses one other commodity which has proven too much a temptation to man. That is the two ivory-like canine teeth, or "tusks," common to every adult animal of both sexes. These enjoyed a rash of popularity around the turn of the century with members of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, [B.P.O.E.] who prized them as watch fobs and the emblem of their organization. Thus encouraged by a ready and lucrative market, a new breed of poacher was born. Furthermore, since an exceptional pair of bull elk tusks brought as much as \$85,<sup>18</sup> it is understandable that the strongest and finest herd sires were the first to be harvested. The debilitating effects of this practice were not long in appearing.

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15. *United States Reports*, CLXIII (October Term, 1895), pp. 505-516, Race Horse File, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming.

16. Arrangements for dropping further charges against Race Horse and his accomplices are discussed in the letters of Governor William A. Richards, U. S. Attorney General Judson Harmon, and D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Race Horse File, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming.

17. Spring, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

18. *The Wyoming Tribune*, March 19, 1915.

Tusk-hunting first began in Jackson Hole in 1904.<sup>19</sup> By 1906, it was evident that these activities were decimating and weakening the herd and that something had to be done. The citizens of Jackson Hole called a meeting, to which the offenders themselves were invited. The tusk-hunting ring was being run by two men named Brinkley and Purdy, who were subsequently ejected from the valley and their gang broken up.<sup>20</sup> In 1907 tusk-hunting became a felony.<sup>21</sup> The practice continued sporadically, however, until the B.P.O.E. undermined the main market with a decree against the elk tusk as that lodge's emblem.

The inroads made into the Jackson Hole elk population over the years, though dramatic, were inconsequential when compared to the greatest and most serious threat—starvation. To an extent, starvation had plagued the herd even before the valley was settled, so the entire problem did not result from the encroaching civilization. For example, devastating losses have been recorded as far back as 1882, and thousands perished in the blizzard of 1886-1887.<sup>22</sup> However, widespread settlement, with the resultant disappearance of elk range and forced migratory changes, has provided the impetus for an elk management problem of crisis proportions.

Originally, most of the elk of Jackson Hole migrated south out of the valley to the Green River country and various plains areas during the winter, where the snow was not so deep and grass was better.<sup>23</sup> When summer came each year, the animals moved back to Jackson Hole and the surrounding mountains. By about 1904, there were enough sheep on the ranges to the south to interrupt this pattern. Simultaneously, the ranchers in Jackson Hole were stocking the range fast enough to put a serious squeeze on the elk there.

In the winter of 1909-1910, it was estimated that about 14,000 elk tried to winter in the vicinity of the present National Elk Refuge.<sup>24</sup> By mid-February, starvation had set in. A local mass meeting petitioned the state legislature, which was then in session, for funds to feed the herd. In the meantime, local ranchers began feeding operations, but half of the herd died anyway. The state legislature did appropriate \$5000 to buy hay and to reimburse the ranchers who had already provided hay; but the state quickly realized its inability to cope with the situation and appealed to the federal government for assistance.<sup>25</sup>

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19. Casebeer interview, *op. cit.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. Almer Nelson, Supervisor of the National Elk Refuge (Retired), Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, June, 1966.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

Edward Preble, a government biologist, investigated the elk situation in the spring of 1910. As a result of his report the federal government began a feeding program which, with many refinements, exists today.

Even though much had been done to publicize the problems of the Jackson Hole elk herd, the animals were still in grave danger in 1910. It was that year that the first elk transplants were made to other parts of Wyoming.<sup>26</sup> The winter of 1910-1911 again produced heavy losses. The state spent \$1500 for hay, but this again proved inadequate and about 2500 elk starved before spring.<sup>27</sup> This occurred in spite of the fact that in March, 1911, state funds had again been augmented by a federal appropriation, this time in the amount of \$20,000.<sup>28</sup> During the winter of 1911-1912, the same pattern emerged—more state appropriations (\$3406), more federal appropriations (\$5872), and more dead elk.<sup>29</sup> The years 1909-1912 were the hardest in this century for the elk.

From 1912 to 1916, however, the situation was reversed, and the seriously threatened herd found a reprieve in the form of relatively easy winters, substantial appropriations from the federal government, and the embryonic beginnings of a permanent refuge. Congress appropriated \$50,000 in 1912 to purchase the first 1760 acres of the National Elk Refuge. The following year, 1000 acres of adjoining federal lands were added.<sup>30</sup> The four-year period beginning in 1912, when the elk numbered about 17,000, was a much-needed period of renewal for the herd, and the number of animals increased considerably. Unfortunately, the situation again changed abruptly during the winter of 1919-1920, when an extremely severe winter killed half of the herd. A count in 1921 showed a total of 9346 animals, which is the all-time low.<sup>31</sup> The gigantic herds of elk were now as irretrievably gone as the even larger herds of buffalo, both casualties of the unrelenting pressures of civilization.

A more scientific effort was made in the 1920s to study habits and diseases of the elk, with an eye to maintaining a smaller and healthier herd. In 1927 the U.S. Biological Survey sent a young biologist named Olaus Murie to Jackson Hole to study the elk problem. A pioneer researcher on elk diseases, especially necrotic stomatitis, Murie won an international reputation for himself, and his published works still stand as a primary source of scientific data

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26. Casebeer interview, *op. cit.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. Olaus J. Murie, *The Elk of North America* (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, and Wildlife Management Institute, Washington, D. C., 1951) p. 317.

31. Casebeer interview, *op. cit.*

on the elk. Stephen N. Leek, a pioneer photographer and early settler in Jackson Hole, also did much to publicize the plight of the Jackson Hole elk with numerous articles, supported by his splendid early photography work.

Herd management was improved on a continuing basis, and the entire program was expended in size and scope, as illustrated by the following: in 1925 the Izaak Walton League started a trend when it bought 1760 acres from funds raised by public subscription (\$36,000) to enlarge the National Elk Refuge;<sup>32</sup> on April 15, 1927, President Calvin Coolidge signed Executive Order 4631 "withdrawing certain lands in Teton County from settlement, location, sale, or entry pending determination as to advisability of reserving the lands for elk refuge purposes."<sup>33</sup> In 1934 congressional appropriations purchased 12,000 acres of private land for an extension of the elk refuge, to which 3000 acres of the public domain were added;<sup>34</sup> in 1937 the federal government appointed the Commission of the Conservation of the Elk of Jackson Hole, Wyoming, which held its first meeting on March 3 of that year;<sup>35</sup> President Franklin Roosevelt signed an executive order on November 14, 1936, setting aside lands of the public domain in Jackson Hole for addition to the National Elk Refuge; in 1936-1937 five and a half miles of elk-proof fence was erected on the south and west boundaries of the refuge; on November 6, 1943, the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission and the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service signed an agreement to limit the number of elk wintering in the National Elk Refuge to not more than 7000 animals, and hunting on a restricted basis was permitted within the refuge as one means of control.<sup>36</sup> In 1949, 2744 acres of federal lands were added to the National Elk Refuge.<sup>37</sup>

The present size of the National Elk Refuge is about 24,000 acres.<sup>38</sup> Within its confines, approximately 7000 elk are fed each winter.<sup>39</sup> This, however, does not comprise the entire feeding operation, as the refuge is only one of 23 feeding areas in the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission's District Number 1.<sup>40</sup> The annual hay harvest from government lands goes as high as 3000 tons.<sup>41</sup> The hay is harvested on a contract basis, stored on the

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32. Murie, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

33. Casebeer interview, *op. cit.*

34. Nelson interview, *op. cit.*

35. Casebeer interview, *op. cit.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. Nelson interview, *op. cit.*

39. Kenneth Martin, District Supervisor, District No. 1, Wyoming Game and Fish Commissioner, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, April, 1966.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

National Elk Refuge, and fed by the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, in cooperation with the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission; the hay for all feeding operations outside the refuge is bought from local ranchers.<sup>42</sup> The total number of elk which are fed in the Teton unit of District Number 1 is approximately 11,000.<sup>43</sup>

The Jackson Hole elk herd should dominate any study of Teton County's wildlife. The relative importance of the elk herd justifies and provides an explanation for this. The elk pervade literally every phase of life in the area—economic, political, and social. The economic importance alone is stupendous. For example, the *Jackson's Hole Courier* estimated in June 1915, that the Jackson Hole elk herd was worth \$1,000,000 to the state, and \$80,000 to Jackson Hole alone. The accuracy of these figures would be hard to prove or disprove, but if this was true in 1915, then the herd's worth today is almost inestimable. There are, of course, other species of wildlife in Teton County, including moose, black bear, bighorn sheep, and deer; but it is the elk which have been the focus of national attention for over 70 years. This is how it will undoubtedly remain.

Consider for example, the number of agencies involved in elk management, and the amount of money each puts into the local economy through federal payrolls. Federal employees purchase consumer goods locally, much feed for the elk is purchased from local ranchers, and dozens of local citizens are federally employed. The elk herd is responsible for much of this. Also, the herd brings thousands of hunters to the county every fall who spend a great deal of money in the area. More elk are taken by hunters every season in Teton County than all other species of big game put together.<sup>44</sup>

(To be concluded)

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42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. G. R. Rajender, Floyd K. Harmston, and Dwight M. Blood, *A Study of the Resources, People, and Economy of Teton County* (Laramie, Wyoming: 1967), p. 19.

# *Wyoming State Historical Society*

## EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Green River, Wyoming

September 10-12, 1971

Registration for the eighteenth annual meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society began at 7:00 p.m., Friday, September 10, 1971, in the lobby of the Sweetwater County Court House in Green River. The Rock Springs Italian Singers entertained the members for an hour after which refreshments were served by the Sweetwater County Chapter. The visitors also enjoyed the museum and its interesting collections, including many beautiful Chinese items.

### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

At 9:00 a.m. the President, Judge J. Reuel Armstrong, called the meeting to order in the Community Room of the Sweetwater Court House. After a welcoming speech by Richard Wagner, mayor of Green River, the business of the Society began.

Dr. Robert Burns moved that reading of the minutes of the 1970 annual meeting be dispensed with. The motion was seconded and carried. Minutes of the May Executive Committee meeting were read by the Secretary.

The treasurer read the following report which was placed on file for audit:

### TREASURER'S REPORT

September 12, 1970-September 11, 1971

Cash and Investments on hand September 12, 1970	\$19,375.74
Receipts	
Dues	\$ 5,637.50
Pinettes	6.00
Interest (Savings)	1,118.66
Life Members (3 joints, 28 individual)	1,675.00
Refunds	145.75
	_____
	8,582.91
Disbursements	
Annals of Wyoming	3,191.37
Annual meeting-Worland	157.48
Awards	
Scholarship	-0-
Grant-in-Aid	\$100.00
Juniors	39.50
County Chapters	600.00
	_____
	739.50

Officer's Expenses			
President	59.00		
Secretary	120.00		
Others	60.00		
		239.00	
Committee's Expenses			
Printing	191.75		
Trek	154.88		
Postage			
Committees	52.50		
Department	635.28		
Secretary	21.88		
	709.66		
Phone-Secretary	2.67		
Bond-Secretary of State	6.00		
Miscellaneous			
Foundation Fund	58.22		
		5,450.53	
		\$22,508.12	

## Assets

Savings				
Certificate (Federal Building & Loan)	\$10,917.95			
Certificate (Capitol Building & Loan)	6,211.92			
Federal Building & Loan	1,888.61			
Capitol Savings (Life Members)	492.27			
Federal Building & Loan (Memorial)	550.86			
Cheyenne Federal Building & Loan	1,089.94			
		21,151.57		
Cash				
First National Bank & Trust Company of Wyoming	1,356.55			
	\$22,508.12			
Cash and Investments on hand September 11, 1971				\$22,508.12
MEMBERSHIP				
	1968	1969	1970	1971
Annual Members	1246	1278	1396	1284
Life Members	54	54	53	85

The President introduced William H. Williams, Executive Secretary of the Society. Mr. Williams said that he did not feel very well acquainted with the program of the Society since he had been connected with it only five months, but hoped to learn more about it during this meeting. Judge Armstrong then introduced Neal E. Miller, Mr. Williams' predecessor.

The Secretary read several letters of appreciation. One was from Sheridan County Chapter thanking the Society for the \$400 award received last year. One was from a couple who enjoyed the trek and another was from Dixie Lynne Reese, Leiter, Wyoming, who received an award for her painting. A letter from the State Highway Patrol stated that they had enjoyed escorting the Society's trek caravan in July.

The President read a telegram from Senator Clifford P. Hansen expressing good wishes for the success of the meeting.

Henry Jensen, David Wasden and Louise Graf were appointed to the auditing committee. Dr. T. A. Larson, Mrs. Lael Miller and Dr. Robert H. Burns were named to the resolutions committee.

### COMMITTEE REPORTS

*Scholarship.* Dr. Larson reported that four county histories have been completed and two have not. Two people are still working on Grant-in-Aid projects. In answer to an inquiry about the availability of the county histories, Dr. Larson said that the University of Wyoming would xerox them for five cents per page.

*Projects.* William Dubois reported that in response to letters he sent last fall to Society members an overwhelming majority were in favor of restoring the Houghton and Colter General Store in South Pass City as a Society project. However, the State has funds for that project and it has been suggested that the Society provide a water and fire protection system instead. The amount of \$10,000 allocated for the general store restoration is still available for a suitable project. Mr. Dubois asked that suggestions for other projects be sent in writing to him or to the Executive Board.

*Trek.* Henry Jensen gave an interesting résumé of the 1971 trek and said plans for the 1972 trek are already progressing. The President then commended Dr. Burns for planning and conducting many old-time ranch and mining country tours. He also asked that each Chapter secretary send in a list of future summer tours to be published in "Wyoming History News" so members from over the State could participate.

There was discussion about many badly weathered historical signs throughout the state. Mrs. Edness Kimball Wilkins moved that the Society provide a sign at the turn off at Independence Rock since the present sign indicates only a rest area. E. L. Taliaferro, State Highway Commissioner from Green River, said he would take care of providing such a sign.

Dr. Burns recommended the marking of the old Bath ranch house and Bengough grave site along Interstate 80 west of Laramie.

The Chapters were reminded to be on the alert to preserve our historic landmarks. Mrs. Wilkins reported that the spectacular Avenue of Rocks west of Casper has been partially destroyed by road construction.

A discussion arose over the Parting of the Ways sign. Mr. Williams was asked to look into the historical accuracy of the legend on that sign.

Mrs. Wilma Johnson, from Burlington, explained the Trail Town project. Bob Edgar, of Cody, has collected and restored several old buildings and set them up on an old trail near Cody. He has personally borne all the expense so far, but Dr. Larson suggested that assistance might be available from a federal Humanities grant.

At ten o'clock a break was enjoyed when coffee, juice and rolls were served by the ladies of the Sweetwater Chapter. The rooms were gay with the beautiful gladioli bouquets brought by Dave Wasden from Cody.

When the meeting was again called to order Mr. Williams, as Executive Secretary, reported that an oral history workshop held in several towns throughout the state last spring had been very successful and that follow-up workshops might give additional help to local groups. He suggested that the Society is closely related to the Archives and Historical Department, and can be of great help to chapters by furnishing research assistance. The trek will be video taped next year he said, and this would make a good program for a meeting.

#### FOUNDATION FUND

At this time the meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society was recessed and re-convened as the Wyoming Foundation Fund, Incorporated. Ed Bille, chairman, gave his report as follows: To date \$2,265.41 has been collected and deposited in the Wyoming National Bank of Casper. Nothing has been withdrawn. Additional donations have been promised. He asked that all Society members be more aware of the Fund and its potential, and especially reminded the meeting that memorial contributions are welcome in small or large amounts.

Mrs. Violet Hord and Ken Burris were re-elected as Foundation Fund board members for three-year terms (1971-1974). It was reported that the terms of office of Mr. Bille and Kathleen Hemry expire in 1972 and Mrs. Wilkins' and Dr. Larson's terms expire in 1973.

The Foundation Fund meeting was adjourned and the Wyoming State Historical Society was again convened at 10:40 a.m.

The Secretary asked the Chapter presidents for suggestions to improve the wording on the membership dues reminder cards. She also reminded them to be sure to pass on the Society handbooks to newly elected officers.

Dr. Larson urged chapters to apply for matching funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities to finance their projects. Details can be obtained from the Program Coordinator, Wyoming Interim Committee for the Humanities, Room 135, Aven Nelson Building, University of Wyoming, Laramie 82070.

Mrs. Wilkins announced that Dave True of Casper would give the old Little Bear stage station on the Cheyenne-Deadwood Trail to any organization which will restore and maintain it. The Executive Committee was instructed to make a survey of the practicability of acquiring the site and structure.

During a discussion of young people's participation in the Society's activities, Katherine Halverson, member of the staff of the

Archives and Historical Department, said she has material about junior historian societies which would be helpful in organizing junior historical groups. Anyone interested may write to her.

Mr. Jensen reported that the auditing committee found the treasurer's books to be correct and in good order.

The meeting was adjourned at noon.

Luncheon was served at the Eagle's Hall to 103 guests with Adrian Reynolds acting as master of ceremonies. The Reverend Ronald P. Schutt gave the Invocation. W. R. Frint, Operating Superintendent of the FMC Corporation, was the speaker. He gave the history of trona which was formed by precipitation from lakes which covered the area millions of years ago. Trona was discovered in 1937 but was not mined until 1953 when the FMC Corporation started a plant. There are 40 different trona beds in the vicinity. Trona is made into soda ash which is the basis for glass, detergents and numerous other products.

## CHAPTER REPORTS

The afternoon meeting was called to order promptly at 2:00 p.m. in the Court House.

Only highlights of Chapter reports are given here. Complete reports can be found in the Society files in Cheyenne.

*Weston County Chapter* (Mrs. Mary Capps). Emphasis has been on the Anna Miller Museum where five new display cases have been added. About 40 programs can now be presented in the mobile history van. These programs are especially prepared for young people.

*Albany County Chapter* (Dr. Robert Burns). The Chapter is engaged in the extensive project of taping interviews with pioneer residents. This project is called "Pioneer Voices" and is made possible by a grant for materials from the Grant-in-Aid program of the University of Wyoming Graduate School.

*Hot Springs County Chapter* (Dorothy Milek). This Chapter was organized in the late spring of 1971 with 36 members. They are already recording stories of the area—one strange one about pigs being brought in to kill rattlesnakes.

*Big Horn County Chapter* (Mrs. Wilma Johnson). Big Horn County is very interested in the development of Bob Edgar's Trail Town. They are also famous for their sourdough breakfasts which they serve on many occasions.

*Washakie County Chapter* (Ray Pendergraft). The Chapter met eight times during the year and twice in Thermopolis helping the Hot Springs Chapter organize. They have started a tape library and a library of historical photographs. The annual meeting of the

State Society in Worland last year has helped make the whole town history minded. A marker was placed on the tree which was used as an anchor for the ferry years ago.

*Carbon County Chapter* (Mrs. Jean Lambertsen). At one meeting Paul Petzoldt showed colored slides of the New Year's climb up the Grand Teton which he organizes and leads each year. Three summer treks were enjoyed—one to see the old Indian Baths near Encampment. The Chapter is still working toward the restoration of Fort Steele.

*Crook County Chapter* (Read by Maurine Carley). The grand opening of the new museum was held Sunday, April 25, in Sundance. The \$200 award received from the State Society last year was spent for two mannequins and wigs to use in a courtroom scene. They represent the Judge and the "Sundance Kid."

*Teton County Chapter* (J. W. Brazelton). The Chapter sponsored a visit by 83 year-old Rosa Koops, daughter of Beaver Dick Leigh, for whom Leigh Lake in Grand Teton National Park is named. She arrived with nine relatives from Fort Hall, Idaho. Seventeen Teton County members made a return visit to Fort Hall. Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickle confirmed the re-naming of Hanging Lake to Dudley Hayden Lake. The annual Boardwalk Cookout was a huge success.

*Fremont County Chapter* (Norbert Ribble). The Chapter made a contribution to the Wyoming Historical Foundation Fund. It protested the issuing of a beer license at state-owned property in South Pass City. It was also active in preserving the old Tweed Halfway House in Red Canyon and erecting suitable signs. A carry-in lunch is enjoyed at each meeting.

*Sweetwater County Chapter* (Sam Leckie). A fourth grade class dramatized several important events in Wyoming history for a Chapter meeting. In June a trek was taken to Names Hill with the Lincoln County Chapter. Visits were made to the original potash plant and the first soda well. Plans were made for the annual meeting.

*Laramie County Chapter* (Katherine Halverson). Mrs. Edness Kimball Wilkins was the speaker for the annual January banquet. Pioneers are honored at each Chapter meeting.

*Sheridan County Chapter* (Mrs. J. E. Laughton). The Chapter is very busy with "Trail End," the former home of Senator John B. Kendrick, which they bought, restored and now operate as a museum and historical center. This year special emphasis is being placed on the carriage house. The Chapter has also printed a very attractive brochure about the two buildings. Sheridan County Chapter received a \$400 award last year for their outstanding

accomplishments. A part-time secretary has been hired to help the volunteers. They enjoyed two treks.

*Park County Chapter* (Dave Wasden). An interesting trek was made to view the pictographs at Hamilton Dome and those in Oregon Basin. A committee is now at work cataloging local historical material with the help of the Park County librarian. This summer the Chapter has been endeavoring to identify the people who were buried in a little cemetery which was in use before the town of Cody was founded.

*Lincoln County Chapter* (Mrs. Alice Cranor). Since the Chapter was organized in 1968 the membership has grown to 77 members. In December they have an old-fashioned Christmas dinner and a tree trimmed with popcorn and candles. In June they have an annual chuckwagon dinner cooked in Dutch ovens. One group begins the cooking the day before and another group joins them about 3:30 a.m. The Chapter helped Boy Scouts from Utah earn merit badges for cleaning up the Names Hill site.

*Niobrara County Chapter* (Mrs. Annabelle Hoblit) This is the first time Niobrara County has been represented at a State meeting. They installed an air conditioner in the museum, painted the main exhibit room upstairs and built a pine-slab wall for exhibits. They have interested juniors in working for historical awards and held an appreciation dinner for summer volunteers.

*Natrona County Chapter* (Henry Jensen). The main activity was helping plan and conduct the 1971 historical trek along the Oregon Trail. It has been suggested that a relief carving be cut showing pioneers, Indians, a hand cart and a covered wagon on the Sweetwater Rocks. This would compare in size with Mount Rushmore.

The meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

## SATURDAY EVENING

The Awards Banquet was held at Little America at 7:00 p.m. Place favors were first-day covers commemorating the 100th anniversary of John Wesley Powell's 1869 expedition down the Green River.

Frank Prevedel served as an able master of ceremonies. The Reverend E. Patrick Trujillo gave the Invocation and Henry Chadey introduced the three state officers present, Judge J. Reuel Armstrong, president; William Dubois, first vice president; and Maurine Carley, secretary-treasurer. Sam Leckie introduced the past presidents of the Society who were present. They were Dr. T. A. Larson, Mrs. Edness Kimball Wilkins, Neal E. Miller, Adrian Reynolds and Mrs. Hattie Burnstad.

The speaker was Dr. Charles S. Peterson, former director of the Utah Historical Society, who told about the two expeditions on the Green River made by John Wesley Powell and his men. On the first trip in 1869 his men "came cheap" as they were all adventurers. In 1872 he made his second trip with educated men who recited poetry or read King Lear while floating down the river. These expeditions were unparalleled adventures and made an essential contribution to the understanding of the West.

The Resolutions Committee extended thanks in considerable detail to the many people who had worked to make the convention such an outstanding success.

The officers elected to serve for 1971-1972 were announced as follows:

President: William Dubois, Cheyenne

First Vice President: Henry Chadey, Rock Springs

Second Vice President: Mrs. Dudley Hayden, Jackson

Secretary-Treasurer: Miss Maurine Carley, Cheyenne

Historical awards were then presented by Mrs. Wilkins, on behalf of Mrs. Violet Hord, acting chairman of the Awards Committee:

Esther Allan, Jackson, for arranging the visit and celebration for Rosa Leigh Koops.

Grand Encampment Museum, Inc., Mrs. Bert Oldman, President, Encampment, for promoting museum activities and restoring local historical sites.

Alberta Seaman and Douglas Seaman, Worland, for establishing a private museum.

Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, for conducting a seminar of historical lectures at Natrona County High School and for many other lectures given at the request of groups throughout the State.

Junior Historian Activities Group, Worland, for their booklet, "Worland's First 70 Years."

Orrin and Lorraine Bonney, Kelly, for their book *Battle Drums and Geysers*.

Virginia Cole Trenholm, Cheyenne, for her book *The Arapahoes, Our People*.

Norman Weis, Casper, for his book *Ghost Towns of the Northwest*.

Tom Shakespeare, Arapahoe, for his book *The Sky People*.

*In Wyoming Magazine*, Howard Rhodes, Casper, publisher, for historical articles on Wyoming.

*Buffalo Bulletin*, Jack Williams and Jim Hicks, Buffalo, publishers, for its annual historical edition.

Mabel Brown, Newcastle, for historical articles published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Vera Saban, Worland, for her historical article "A Dream of Lush Valleys," published in *Real Frontier*.

Pat Hall, Cheyenne, for many historical articles published in the Cheyenne newspapers.

Julie Evans, Saratoga, for her historical article published in the *Saratoga Sun*.

Becky Petrie, Newcastle, for "Early Settlers in Weston County," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Karolea Tupa, Newcastle, for "Life of Mr. and Mrs. Luther Pyles," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Terri Hockett, Newcastle, for "The Foltzes, A Pioneer Family," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Myrna Grendahl, Newcastle, for "The Foltzes, A Pioneer Family," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Kathy Farella, Newcastle for "Batista Farella," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Janet Pzinski, Newcastle, for "Mrs. Joe Lissolo, Sr." published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Deborah Ward, Newcastle, for "Elizabeth Wells, The Doctor's Wife," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Karen Shook, Newcastle, for "My Grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Shook," published in *Bits and Pieces*.

Elizabeth J. Thorpe, Newcastle, for her paintings "The Prairie Church at Four Corners" and "Fawcett Cabin on Stockade Beaver Creek."

Sandy Deuel, Lusk, for her historical sketches used on the Niobrara Chamber of Commerce brochure.

Radio Station KYCN, Wheatland, Grover Allen, owner, for presenting historical programs arranged by the Laramie Peak Cow-Belles.

Laramie Peak Cow-Belles, Wheatland, for arranging historical programs presented over Station KYCN.

Paul Knowles, owner, Radio Station KSGT, Jackson, for historical broadcasts presented over Station KSGT.

William F. Bragg, Casper, for historical broadcasts "Wyoming's Colorful Past," presented over Station KATI.

Michael D. Yandell, Casper, for photographs of Teton and Yellowstone National Parks.

Donald Ellicott, Lusk, for a geology project.

James Ellicott, Lusk, for a geology project.

Pacific Power & Light Company and Idaho Power Company for naming the \$300 million power plant, The Jim Bridger Plant.

Honorable Mention awards were made to:

Mrs. L. G. Flannery, Cheyenne, for editing Volume 6 of *The Hunton Dairies*.

Hugh Knoefel, publisher, *Northern Wyoming Daily News*, Worland, for historical articles published in the *Northern Wyoming Daily News*.

Duane Groshart, Worland, for historical-related sports articles published in the *Northern Wyoming Daily News*.

Gerald Bardo, Lusk, for promoting historical activities in Niobrara County through the *Lusk Herald*.

Ray Pendergraft, Worland, for his historical poems, music, lyrics.

Dr. George Frison, Laramie, for archaeology projects at Fort Kearny and buffalo diggings throughout the State.

A Cash Award of \$400 was made to Weston County Chapter for moving and restoring Green Mountain School House.

Judge Armstrong presented the gavel to Mr. Dubois who made a brief acceptance speech then presented Judge Armstrong with a President's Appreciation Certificate.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

Breakfast was served at 8:00 a.m. from a tent on Expedition Island where Powell and his men had breakfast before they started their dangerous and exciting trips down the Green River more than 100 years ago.

At 10:00 a.m. two tours left the Island:

1. A day-long tour to Flaming Gorge Recreation area including the first Green River Rendezvous site in 1825. Guide, Adrian Reynolds.

2. A three-hour tour to Green River, White Mountain and Rock Springs. Guide, Henry Chadey.

MAURINE CARLEY  
Secretary-Treasurer

## *Book Reviews*

*Guardian of the Grasslands. The First Hundred Years of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association.* By John Rolfe Burroughs. (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing and Stationery Co., 1971). Index. Illus. 430 pp. \$15.00.

Mr. Burroughs' comprehensive and soundly researched history of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association will, without doubt, be a definitive source of information for years to come, not only for the Wyoming Stock Growers Association itself, but for the cattle industry of the state. One authority on the cattle industry is quoted in the foreword: "Read the history of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association and you will read not only the history of the State of Wyoming but the history of territorial Wyoming and even of the rugged frontier of pre-territorial days."

In the words of the author, "This is true. It is true because the history of Wyoming and the growth of the cattle industry in Wyoming are virtually synonymous. By and large, the same men who gave the Wyoming Stock Growers Association its character were the men who created first the Territory of Wyoming then the state. Nowhere else in this country has a comparable situation existed."

The thorough documentation of the study establishes its authority for the serious student of Western history. Having worked with the author in the course of some of his research, we can attest to his meticulous and scholarly techniques of researching and selecting material.

The dominant theme threaded throughout the impressive work is the indispensable grass—without which there could have been no livestock industry in Wyoming or the West. Mr. Burrough's first chapter, "What's In a Name?" begins: "The most important name in Wyoming is a common noun spelled g-r-a-s-s." He closes his book with this paragraph: "On the surface very little has changed in Wyoming since the coming of the cattle more than a hundred years ago. The cattle still are there—and so is the invigorating climate. The grass, and the Indians (save for a token few) who harvested the buffalo are long gone. But listen closely as the wind sweeps the Wyoming plain, and you will hear a ghostly refrain which never fails. 'I am the grass,' it seems to say, 'let me work.' "

One is tempted to mention many—or even all—of the intriguing chapter headings in *Guardian of the Grasslands*, as a brief review of the logical sequence of the book. A few selected ones, however, are indicative of the scope of the book: "Six Heifers and a Bull," "Cognac in Cow Country," "Cops and Robbers on the Range," "Black Balls and Bad Neighbors," "Wind on the Prairie," "Grass and the Great White Father," "The Distaff Side," and "Rounding Out the Century."

The same individual flavor that characterizes these headings is also typical of Mr. Burrough's narrative style—informal, easy writing with subtle humor frequently evident, but at the same time decisive and informative.

The Wyoming Stock Growers Association made no mistake in commissioning John Burroughs to write their history for the 1972 centennial of the organization, and whatever other impact the one-hundred year observance may make, this book will stand as a permanent and substantial contribution.

*Chief, Historical Research and  
Publications Division, Wyoming  
State Archives and Historical  
Department*

KATHERINE HALVERSON

*Chief Washakie.* By Mae Urbanek. (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Co., 1971). Index. Illus. 150 pp. \$5.00.

Enthusiasts of Wyomingana and those interested in Indians should be pleased with Mae Urbanek's new *Chief Washakie of the Shoshones*, published by the Johnson Company, Boulder, in 1971. Few biographies of this important chief had been written previously. The most scholarly one, *Washakie*, by Grace Raymond Hebard, appeared in 1930. Since it is now out of print, it is not readily available to the average reader. Neither is Dr. Keith's 1935 poetic version of Washakie's life, *An Indian Odyssey*, currently unavailable except in rare book collections.

Mrs. Urbanek has done valuable service in compiling a new biography of the Shoshone chief. She relies heavily on Dr. Hebard's book but arranges her material in more strictly chronological order, with less emphasis on the history of the region and more on the customs of the Shoshone Indians. Several of the illustrations were also used by Dr. Hebard, but many are new to books on Washakie, bringing knowledge of his descendants up to 1970. Mrs. Urbanek has quoted many primary source materials—Hebard files on Washakie at the University of Wyoming containing letters from persons who knew him and from members of his family, army and Indian affairs records, interviews with army officers and Indian agents, post traders, and frontiersmen contemporary with Washakie.

One adverse criticism is the type face. The book seems to lack authority and sophistication because of being lithographed instead of printed. I should have liked Mrs. Urbanek to use the maps from Dr. Hebard's book, if that were possible. Probably she could have obtained permission from the A. H. Clark Co., since she did use the reservation map as end sheets.

The book has an easy style, simple enough even for elementary school pupils. It should prove an asset to collections of Western Americana. The chief charm is the presentation of much description of the life and customs of Shoshone Indians, both as nomads and as strugglers to adjust to reservation restrictions. This is a sympathetic treatment but not cloying with sentiment even in praising the great Chief Washakie.

*Western History Librarian  
Casper College*

ROSE MARY MALONE

*How the U. S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks.* By H. Duane Hampton. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971). Index. Illus. 246 pp. \$8.95.

Dr. H. Duane Hampton, Professor of History at the University of Montana at Missoula, provides a most interesting and timely account of a little known chapter in military and civil government history in the western United States. In contrast to many books about the American west, Dr. Hampton's book contains a great deal more of significance than one might expect from the catchy title.

The author provides one of the best backgrounds we have ever seen in print on the history of the national park idea and the development of the earliest national parks. It is concise, readable, and yet extremely well documented. Dr. Hampton has examined carefully the detailed administrative background of Yellowstone National Park from its formation in 1872 to the coming of military control in 1886. He has done the same thing with the background of Yosemite National Park, exposing fully the inadequacies of civil administration under control of the State of California. In both these instances, Dr. Hampton provides a considerable amount of valuable insight into the inadequacy of the framework of law, the judicial framework, and the administrative situation in which earlier civilian superintendents of both park groups had to function. He gives an extremely good idea of the detailed context of frontier politics, frontier attitudes that clashed with early conservationist ideas concerning these two critically important parks in the American west.

The author examines in considerable detail the processes and ideas that led up to the sending of troops to garrison both Yellowstone and Yosemite. He examines the military administration of each park in depth and throughout introduces interesting incidents to show how effectively the military commanders involved devised operating expedients to meet the challenges posed by the inadequacies of law in dealing with surrounding groups of frontiersmen.

Dr. Hampton effectively sets forth the changing conditions on the frontier surrounding each park that required an expanded management program. He explains the effectiveness of the Army in developing some of the basic concepts that underlie key aspects of park management to this day.

The author then goes on to examine the legal responses that Congress ultimately made to secure a framework for administration and law enforcement in both sets of parks. Many of these actions of Congress in this period and the consequent actions of administrative officials helped to lay the groundwork for the development of an effective civil management of the national parks at about the time of the first World War and also laid the groundwork for the development of other national parks.

Dr. Hampton then goes on to explain with care the transition from military to civil government as the National Park Service itself was formed in the teens of the current century.

In his closing chapter, the author points out the importance of historical examination of our park policy. He very effectively interrelates some of the present day controversies over national parks and other national resource matters to comparable situations in the past and points out a number of valuable historic lessons that we might use in dealing with the complex pressures and interests upon our park and conservation and environmental movements today.

As to subject matter, content, format, and printing quality, this book is one of the best to come out of University of Indiana press in recent years.

The bibliography is one of the best we have seen on the early years of the national park service. Dr. Hampton has researched in depth both civil and military government records in the National Archives and virtually all of the published material of consequence.

All told, the book is an attractive piece of work from both the author and publisher standpoints. We regard it as a must for those interested in the history of the national parks movement, in conservation issues of the present day, and for the many who have an interest in the military history of the American west. The book does a great deal to explain the interaction between military and civil government that was necessary in so many aspects of western history in the particular context of the national parks situation. It will do much to dispel popular misconceptions about the calibre of officers and men that served in the United States Army in the west in the late years of the 19th and early years of the 20th century. The only thing that may restrict the readership of this book to some degree is the price of \$8.95, necessitated by rapid rises in publishing costs such as we have seen affect many other books. We sincerely hope that with the large amount of publicity achieved by the national parks in connection with the Yellowstone

centennial year that the publisher or some other publisher may effectively present a paperback version that can get in the hands of as many of the millions of park visitors as possible.

*Western Interpretive Services*  
Sheridan

ROBERT A. MURRAY

*The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854.* By Louise Barry. Foreword by Dale L. Morgan. (Topeka: Kansas State Historical Society, 1972). Index. Illus. 1296 pp. \$14.75.

A more appropriate title for this comprehensive work would have been difficult if not impossible to find, for Louise Barry has reached well beyond the borders of Kansas to embrace over 300 years of the history of the trans-Missouri West.

In a single volume spanning some 1300 pages, including a minutely detailed 60-page index and 72 pages of illustrative material, the author offers the reader knowledge she has gained in her more than 30 years of research and writing on the American West. While originally published from 1961-1967 as a series of articles in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, the present volume enfolds those articles, with their myriad of invaluable source materials, under a single cover for ease of access and ready reference.

It goes almost without saying that this volume of some 640,000 words is a most significant contribution to the history of the American West and most certainly should have a place in every library, and in the hands of all students of the West, be their interest professional or personal.

Beginning with Coronado's 1540 incursion into the Southwest in quest of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola, the book, in the form of a chronological annals, spans and interweaves such matters as exploration, the fur trade, missionary activities, the westward emigration, Indian relations, military affairs, and settlement to 1854, closing with an announcement of the appointment of the first Kansas territorial officers, June 30, 1854.

Though in the form of an annals rather than a narrative history, the book easily lends itself to narrative reading, reference or browsing. While the pre-territorial history of Kansas emerges in sharp focus, Wyoming readers will find information on such familiar subjects as Fort Laramie, Fort Bridger, the Oregon Trail, the fur trade, and on personalities such as Jim Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Seth Ward, and many other subjects and people.

Through no stretch of the imagination could this valuable compendium be said to be limited in scope just to Kansas and its immediate environs. Through the far-reaching viewpoint of the

author and her diligent use of many valuable sources, this major contribution surely is destined to become a primary tool of western historical research.

Louise Barry and the Kansas State Historical Society are to be commended not only for making the information in this volume available but for doing so at such a reasonable cost as well.

*Research Historian,  
Wyoming State Archives and  
Historical Department*

JOHN CORNELISON

*Big Brother's Indian Programs—With Reservations.* By Sar A. Levitan and Barbara Hetrick. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1971.) Index. Illus. 228 pp. \$8.95.

Professors Levitan and Hetrick of the Center for Manpower Studies of George Washington University present in this work a clear, concise summary of the various endeavors the United States government is engaged in to better the lot of the reservation Indians. The authors have divided their analysis into sections depicting the general situation, past and present, of the Indians and those specifically discussing the areas of Indian education, health services, community structure and the development of the economic and human resources on the reservations. Their concluding chapter is an effort to draw the data together to come up with pragmatic solutions to the staggering difficulties confronting Native Americans on the reservations.

The authors, while making efforts to remain objective, clearly indicate the goals which they feel should govern government-Indian relations in the future. These "controlling principles" include the greatest possible control by the Indians themselves over programs designed to help them; the recognition and preservation of cultural differences among Indians; the fastest possible improvement of living conditions on the reservations; the development and increasing self-sufficiency of reservation economies; and giving the Indians the option of retaining their geographic and legal separateness from the rest of the population rather than forcing them into the majority society. To a large extent their analysis of the governmental programs affecting the Indians is colored by the degree to which these programs conform to the principles which the authors find desirable.

Leviton and Hetrick's book is somewhat refreshing in these days of charges of Bureau of Indian Affairs indifference and malign intent in that it demonstrates the fantastic problems inherent in the efforts of governmental agencies, primarily the B.I.A., in dealing

with scattered, extremely diverse tribes living in geographically different environments. Although the authors justifiably lambaste the Bureau for its all too often authoritarian and erroneous dictates to the Indians, they do point out that the age-encrusted and bureaucratic top-heavy agency has in recent years made a sincere effort to change its ways and to include Indians in the making of policy decisions affecting their own welfare. The Bureau has also, although late in the game, begun the training of Native Americans to occupy meaningful positions in its administrative structure. Whether the momentum which the Bureau is building up in these moves will be sustained and expanded in the future is, however, a matter of conjecture. At the present time things Indian are "in" and the glare of publicity is on the matter of the relationship between the government and the Indians. When the inevitable slackening of interest on the part of the majority society towards Indian matters occurs, the vested interests profiting through the maintenance of the traditional governmental attitudes towards the Indians will reassert their patterns of exploitation unless permanent safeguards are built into the bureaucratic structure.

The authors realize that the Indians are not completely without responsibility in the failure or lack of implementation of desirable governmental programs. The resistance of traditionally minded tribal leaders acts as a drag on the introduction of reforms, as do the differing cultural values of the Indians concerned which sometimes leads them to reject aid obviously beneficial to their welfare. Here of course are instances where the government must be as flexible as possible in obtaining maximum Indian participation in the formulation of reforms in order to overcome or bypass such resistance.

The problems of Indian education are enormous in scope, involving not only cultural differences but such real factors as bilingualism and geographic isolation. Economic advancement on the reservations is hampered by the lack of investment funds, the unwillingness of industries to locate on the reservations and by the realization that some reservations simply do not have any economically viable base on which to erect an industrial superstructure. Again cultural factors intrude as in cases where industries have located on the reservations hiring women in far greater numbers than men; a situation leading to family breakups and the emotional emasculation of the males involved.

In presenting these facts concerning the government-reservation Indian situation in an easily assimilable manner, the authors have made a considerable contribution to the understanding of the position of America's most depressed minority today.

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NORMAN LEDERER

*The American Cowboy In Life and Legend.* By Bart McDowell. Photographed by William Albert Allard. (Washington, D. C.: National Geographic Society, 1972) Index. Illus. 212 pp. \$4.25.

"Most anything you want to say about cowboys is true. But the important thing is they take care of cows." This description of the American cowboy was uttered by a pioneer cattleman who happened to be author Bart McDowell's grandfather. The old man summed it up pretty well. At some point of their lives most genuine cowboys do take care of cows. Of course, we would have to exclude some of the modern rodeo hands who do nothing but rodeo and some of the Hollywood characters the public mistakenly calls cowboys.

McDowell, *National Geographic* senior editor, grew up on his grandfather's cow outfit in Old Mexico and knows the gritty side of ranching. This knowledge and experience reflects throughout the work. While gathering material for the book McDowell lived on ranches from Mexico to Canada and traveled more than 13,000 miles.

Photographer William Albert Allard, says, "Though I live in Virginia, the West is my favorite area. I love both the land and its people." Allard is a master of his craft and here again a love of the subject shines through. The photographs are superb. Although Allard's pictures are the primary illustrations for the book, there are others. These include reproductions of paintings by Russell, Remington and other artists as well as some old time photographs.

The scope of the work is from the Conquistadores to the present and includes some of the West's most colorful characters—Chisholm, Goodnight, Will Rogers, Bill Pickett, the 100-year-old pharoah-featured Cherokee Jack Hart, the world's oldest living cowhand whom the author calls a living link with the old cattle trails.

No treatise on the cattle industry or its people would be complete without including Wyoming with her triumphs and tribulations, and we are not left out, as Wyoming ranches, history and personalities are interspersed throughout the work.

*The American Cowboy In Life and Legend* should appeal to the serious student of western history, cowboy buffs or anyone who just wants enjoyable reading. Written with plenty of savvy and humor, it confirms the claim of the old cowhand who said, "I'd know a cowhand in hell with his hide burnt off. Its the way he stands, walks and talks."

Associate Editor  
Wyoming Wildlife  
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NEAL BLAIR

*Indian Leaders Who Helped Shape America, 1600-1900.* By Ralph W. Andrews. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1971). Index. Illus. 184 pp. \$12.95.

Primarily a pictorial presentation, as are most of Andrews' books, this study portrays the decline and fall of the American Indian. The author has successfully shown the dignity and greatness of Indian leaders, and the tragedy of a people destined to be displaced from their native territory.

*Highways Into History. Ten Trails of Discovery that Led American Pioneers on their Journey to Nationhood.* By Alice Fleming. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971). Index. Illus. 150 pp. \$7.95.

The colorful stories behind ten roads and trails is told in this very readable volume. The many highways that cross our country are the story of our nation's growth. They were blazed by Spanish missionaries, British soldiers and American frontiersmen and emigrants. Mrs. Fleming has included historical facts, anecdotes and photographs of landmarks and points of interest which are open to the public. The historic "highways" in her book are the Boston Post Road, The Wilderness Road, the Albany Post Road, the Iroquois Trail, Trail of the Conquistadores, the Natchez Trace, the Great National Turnpike, El Camino Real, the Santa Fe Trail and the Route of the Pony Express, and the Oregon Trail.

*Cowboy Slang.* By Edgar R. Potter. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., Hangman Press, 1970). Illus. 64 pp.

Illustrated with sketches and photographs, this informal little book is quick and easy reading. It contains a glossary of cowboy slang terms and working vocabulary, information on how to read brands and a rodeo dictionary.

*Soldier and Brave.* Editor, Robert G. Ferris (Washington: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1970). Index. Illus. 453 pp.

A new, hardcover edition of a previous publication, this title is Volume XII in the history series, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Subtitled "Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West," the book relates the ethnic clash generated

by the advancing tide of westward emigration in the 19th century and its consequences. Maps, antique photographs and reproductions of 19th century sketches supplement the narrative.

*The National Park Service.* By William C. Everhart. (New York, Washington, London: Praeger Publishers, 1972). Index. Illus. 275 pp. \$9.00.

Publication of this book coincides with the one-hundredth anniversary of the first national park, Yellowstone. It is the story of the agency which administers the country's parks and national monuments. Of particular interest is the author's handling of the preservation-versus-use issue.

#### Paperbacks

*Red Feather Lakes. The First Hundred Years.* By Evadene Burris Swanson, assisted by Ted Dunning. (Fort Collins, Colo.: 1971.) Illus. 87 pp. \$3.00.

*The Discovery of Yellowstone Park. Journal of the Washburn Expedition to the Yellowstone and the Firehole Rivers in the Year 1870.* By Nathaniel Pitt Langford. Foreword by Aubrey L. Haines. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972). Index. Illus. 125 pp. \$1.95, paper. \$4.95, cloth.

*Indian Fights and Fighters.* By Cyrus Townsend Brady. Introd. by James T. King. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971). Index. Illus. 423 pp. \$2.25. (Paperback, Bison Book.)

*The Historian's Handbook. A Descriptive Guide to Reference Works.* By Helen J. Poulton, assisted by Marguerite S. Howland. Foreword by Wilbur S. Shepperson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972.) Indexes. 304 pp. \$4.95.

*Pioneros Cubanos en USA, 1575-1898.* By J. Isern. Privately published, 1972.

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# *Annals of Wyoming*

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KATHERINE HALVERSON

*Editor*

JOHN W. CORNELISON

*Associate Editor*

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The building on the cover is one of the two surviving barracks at Fort Fred Steele. According to Robert A. Murray, author of "Fort Fred Steele: Desert Outpost on the Union Pacific," the surviving barracks underwent a number of modifications over the years to adapt them to various uses. He says the basic central structure of each remains, however, with few alterations. The south barracks appears to retain its kitchen, while the north one, shown on the cover, retains the main structure of its porch. Both are among the oldest and best preserved soldier barracks in the entire west. (Cover Photo by Cozort, Wyoming Studio, Rawlins)

# *Fort Fred Steele: Desert Outpost on the Union Pacific*

*By*

ROBERT A. MURRAY

## I. BACKGROUND AND EARLY HISTORY OF FORT FRED STEELE, THROUGH 1868

### Introduction

Military history of Wyoming is to this day very incompletely researched. Posts such as Fort Laramie and Fort Phil Kearny, along with such officers as Grattan, Caspar Collins and Fetterman and other assorted losers have drawn most of the attention. Many of the state's military posts and battle sites are little known to the average history buff or the general reader.

Fort Fred Steele is one of the posts in this category. We have often heard the question in historical circles: "Fort Fred Steele, where in hell is Fort Fred Steele?", despite the fact that over two-million out-of-state tourists and countless traveling citizens of Wyoming whisk by within a mile and a half of it each year on Interstate 80! The question deserves an answer.

Fort Fred Steele lies on the left bank of the North Platte River at the Union Pacific Railroad crossing of that stream. This is just about 15 miles east of Rawlins, and about 12 miles by jeep trail south of Seminoe Reservoir. Here stand a handful of historic buildings, including some of the best survivals of their type in the west, along with ruins and identifiable sites of most of the fort's buildings.

For some months now we have been involved in intensive research on this interesting old post. We hope this brief survey of our findings will interest others in the current efforts of many interested groups and individuals to save this site and these historic buildings.

### Historical Background

Many of Wyoming's military posts got their start in connection with a trader or emigrant trail of some kind. Not so Fort Fred Steele. Its entire history is closely interwoven with the story of the Union Pacific Railroad in this region.<sup>1</sup>

There is now abundant documentation to show that the completion of a transcontinental railway was one of the great national-interest issues of the mid-nineteenth century. Actually, it probably ranked second only to the matter of national survival contested in the Civil War, and was a matter in which route selection was the only issue of a sectional nature at hand. With the preponderance of popular support and economic power settling these issues simultaneously at an increasing rate after the summer of 1863, interest turned toward the transcontinental rail line at an increasing pace in the closing years of the war.

Indian hostilities that broke out along the old Oregon/California trail through Wyoming in 1862 were complicated by the introduction of volunteer units as replacements for the regulars who had previously garrisoned the western posts, and more or less steady warfare ensued along the old trails. With this convenient excuse, the Overland Stage lines in 1862 moved south to the shorter and faster "Overland Route" that entered present day Wyoming via Virginia Dale, and traversed the Laramie Plain, crossing the North Platte River about 12 miles above the present site of Fort Fred Steele.<sup>2</sup>

Government surveyors had been over much of the country in what is now southern Wyoming in the period 1856-1859, as a part of the wagon road surveys activity, the military engineering attendant to the Utah Campaign, and the preliminary studies for the Pacific Railroad.<sup>3</sup> Now, beginning in the spring of 1865, company surveyors moved west from Omaha, rapidly pinning down the precise choice of routes for a low-gradient rail line through the Rockies.<sup>4</sup>

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1. For a comparison with the various aspects of Fort Fred Steele history with the other types of posts mentioned, one should refer to: LeRoy R. Hafen and Francis M. Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West*, (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938); Robert A. Murray, *Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865-1894*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968.)

2. Fred B. Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland*, (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1938). LeRoy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926).

3. W. Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

4. Wesley S. Griswold, *A Work of Giants*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962). Robert G. Athearn, *Union Pacific Country*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971).

These survey parties were small, and in view of the three years of increasing Indian hostility along the trails, they anticipated trouble with the Indians. The Connor Campaign of 1865 was largely a punitive and diversionary move to keep the hostiles away from the line of railroad surveys and construction. The construction of Fort Connor (soon renamed Fort Reno) on Powder River was a continuation of this goal.<sup>5</sup> In a large measure so was the garrisoning of Fort Reno with regulars and the construction of Fort Philip Kearny and Fort C. F. Smith further up the Bozeman Trail in 1866.<sup>6</sup> As the rail lines advanced across Nebraska in 1866, the army established supply bases at major points along the track, stationed small forces at the individual stations of the completed line, and kept a screen of patrols out ahead of the main construction parties. The railroaders themselves were well armed and reasonably well disciplined to anticipate and ward off Indian troubles.<sup>7</sup>

The government had acknowledged the importance of the railroad as a consideration in western military operations in 1865, as we noted above. Early in 1867, the matter was given additional weight, as General Grant noted in a letter to General Sherman:

Now that the Government has assumed the obligation to guarantee the bonds of the Pacific Railroad, it becomes a matter of great pecuniary interest to see it completed as soon as possible. Every protection practicable should be given by the military, both to secure the rapid completion of the road and to avoid pretext on the part of the builders to get further assistance from the government.<sup>8</sup>

In the spring of 1867, the major transfer point for army supplies from rails to wagons was a temporary depot of some size at North Platte Station in Nebraska.<sup>9</sup> By early fall, this function was filled by the new depot (destined to permanence) at Cheyenne.<sup>10</sup> From this point the army and the railroad officials could look ahead to about three hundred miles of "Indian Country" of any real

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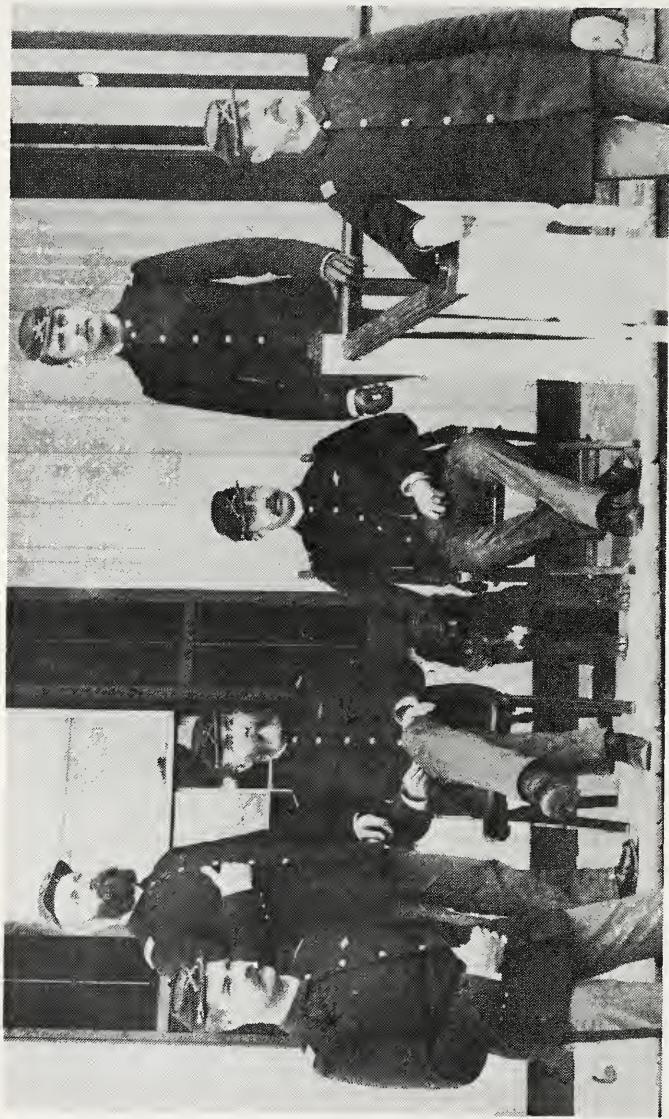
5. J. B. Upsher, Secretary of Interior, to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, letter, January 12, 1865, published in *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, XLVIII, Pt. I, pp. 498-499; also, for material on the Connor Campaign: Hafen, LeRoy R. and Ann W., *The Powder River Campaign and Sawyer's Expedition*, (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1961).

6. Murray, *op. cit.*

7. Grenville M. Dodge, *How We Built the Union Pacific Railway*, (Denver: Sage Books reprint, 1965).

8. Letter, U. S. Grant, General of the Armies of the United States, to Lt. Gen. W. T. Sherman, Commanding the Military Division of the Missouri, January 26, 1867.

9. For example, quartermaster and ordnance correspondence with Colonel John E. Smith, 27th Infantry, indicates that he loaded his trains with supplies here before heading up country for the Bozeman Trail posts in May of 1867. Letters Sent & Received, Headquarters, Department of the Platte, RG98, National Archives and Records Service.



National Archives Photo

**BACHELOR OFFICERS AT FORT STEELE**

This photograph, dated March 20, 1885, apparently was taken at the rear of a quarters unit at the fort.

concern. Some bands of Sioux and Cheyenne were still active from the very outskirts of Cheyenne City through the Laramie Plains and upper Platte region, especially during the construction season. The Northern Arapahoes were in substantial control of most of the country at the south end of the Big Horns, the Sweetwater Valley, the upper portion of the South Fork of the Powder River, and with seasonal aid from the Cheyennes were raiding the Shoshoni along Wind River.

Some bands of the Shoshoni had always maintained a generally friendly attitude largely to secure assistance against the Cheyennes and Arapahoes pushing into their country. Other Shoshoni and their Bannock relatives had been soundly thrashed at Bear River by Connor in 1863.<sup>11</sup>

The Utes of western Colorado ranged north over the Red Desert and the nearby mountains seasonally. Their attitude was questionable, but assumed to be more or less friendly at this point.<sup>12</sup>

As of late fall, 1867, Fort Laramie and the newly created Fort Fetterman assumed the role of major bases for any potential field operations and for patrolling that would keep large forces of Sioux and Cheyennes away from the railroad. These posts lay over 90 miles north of their respective rail supply points, and this left about ten thousand square miles of potential territory for operations against hostile Indians west of the Laramie Range and south of the mountain barrier that bordered the northern bend of the North Platte River.

The army's strategic approach hinged on careful use of developing rail transportation beyond the immediate critical period of construction activity. Effective and widespread patrolling of forces in the field could suffice in the early months of 1868. Beyond this the first step was to abandon Fort Halleck on the Overland Route (at the foot of Elk Mountain), and remove its garrison to the projected point where the railroad would cross the Laramie River. This was accomplished by the summer of 1866. The new post was at first called Fort John Buford, but the name was soon changed to Fort Sanders (partially to avoid confusion with another Fort Buford in Dakota).<sup>13</sup>

The army then projected that another post at the critically important North Platte River Crossing would serve as the central base of operations in the area.

Long-established Fort Bridger tied down the western end of the region.

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10. Peggy Kircus, "Fort D. A. Russell," *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 40, No. 2, October, 1968.

11. Rogers, *op. cit.*

12. Robert Emmitt, *The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado*.

13. Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 185.

As the rail line advanced, troops from these three posts could be used to garrison the stations and tie and construction camps as needed during seasons of active Indian hostility.

Strategy and economics of a stringently-poor post-Civil War regular army were closely interrelated. The railroad, once completed, could be expected to move troops quickly and efficiently to points of trouble along the line. Any station could quickly become the supply base for an expedition against the Indians, while troops could be wintered in economy and relative comfort at the major posts along the line.<sup>14</sup>

As we shall see, the concept worked out well, and the army fulfilled its mission effectively in the region for the next 18 years. The very effectiveness of military operations here has, more than any other factor, worked against general public knowledge of the fort's history. Carrington, Fetterman, and Custer are practically household words; but all too few Americans have heard of the successful officers who steadily worked toward the solution of the "Indian Question" as a military problem, like Bradley, DeTrobriand, Merritt and their subordinates whom we shall discuss at Fort Fred Steele. Only a modest number of history buffs even know of Richard I. Dodge and James S. Brisbin through those men's own writings or of Arthur MacArthur except through his son. And all of these and more were part of the "Fort Steele team" in the closing years of the Indian wars in Wyoming.

#### "The Ball Opens" 1868-1869

During late 1866 and into 1867, the railroad pushed west from Lone Tree Station to Cheyenne, over 300 miles of hostile Indian country. It was with considerable relief, coupled with uncertainty as to the Indian situation over the next stretch that the railway builders and the railway camp-followers settled down in the sprawling board-and-canvas town on Crow Creek late in 1867. This uncertainty in civilian minds came about through an examination of the events of the recent season.<sup>15</sup> Surely, the army had given a uniformly good account of itself against the "Northern Indians" in 1867, at the Wagon Box Fight, the Hayfield Fight and a number of smaller skirmishes that year.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, however, much of the combat strength on the plains was tied up in Kansas

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14. Robert G. Athearn, *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), many references to views of Sherman and others on the strategic and tactical implications of the railroads.

15. *Ibid.* p. 171-188.

16. Murray, *op. cit.*; also: Roy E. Appleman, two papers in *Great Western Indian Fights, Potomac Corral of the Westerners*, (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960).

and in eastern Colorado, awaiting what promised to be another season of intense campaigning.<sup>17</sup> The situation was further complicated by the announcement early in the year that the army would be directly involved in a new set of treaty negotiations with the northern plains tribes at a number of points, with Fort Laramie, only about 90 miles away from Cheyenne, getting top billing as the seat of "peace talks."<sup>18</sup>

These talks would surely bring together a sizeable concentration of Indians "in to share the presents" if nothing else, and most westerners did not particularly favor such a concentration.

A taste of trouble along the older trails came early in the season. On March 18, a detachment of Co. K, 18th Infantry, had a skirmish near the Fort Fetterman sawmill, losing one man. Two days later civilians at Horseshoe and at Twin Springs Ranches fought the Indians, losing three men. Out along the projected rail line at Rock Creek, a wood party successfully stood off Indians, killing one of the hostiles on April 3.<sup>19</sup>

By mid-April, both construction and military activity were under way. Brigadier General C. C. Augur, commanding the Department of the Platte, was also involved in the treaty negotiations and opened a "Headquarters in the field" at a camp near Fort Laramie. Here he kept in touch with both the peaceful and hostile aspects of Indian relations. On April 16, he wrote to Grenville M. Dodge of the Union Pacific:

I have put Gibbon in charge of line west of Sanders. You had better see him and determine between you what is necessary.

There are but two(2) small bands of Indians out, and they will, I think, soon be brought in. Not an Indian from the Republican has been out, and only a few young men from the North, who got mad here at Laramie and went out to steal.

Twenty(20) Brules have gone out to bring in the stock captured from along Lodge Pole.

I do not believe there will be any general Indian trouble. Not an Indian that the commission treated with last year has been troublesome since.

It remains to be seen what we can do with the Northern ones.<sup>20</sup>

Despite his air of confidence when communicating with the railroad officials, Augur was prepared for any trouble, for the next day, his

17. Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

18. Athearn, *op. cit.* Remi Nadeau, *Fort Laramie and the Sioux Indians*, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

19. George W. Webb, *Chronological List of Engagements between the Regular Army of the United States and Various Tribes of Hostile Indians, which Occurred During the Years 1790-1898, Inclusive*, (St. Louis: Wing Printing and Publishing Co., 1939), p. 36-37.

20. Telegram: C. C. Augur to G. M. Dodge, April 16, 1868, letters and telegrams sent, Headquarters, Department of the Platte in the Field near Fort Laramie, RG98, NARS.

A. D. C., Captain G. B. Russell, wrote to Colonel John Stevenson of the 30th Infantry to expect orders for himself and the four companies of his regiment commanded by Major Richard I. Dodge to join Colonel John Gibbon's command in the region west of Fort Sanders.<sup>21</sup>

On the 19th of April, the records place Major Dodge's battalion near Fort D. A. Russell (at Cheyenne). They moved swiftly up country, crossing Cheyenne Pass on the 20th, and spending the 21st through 23d at Fort Sanders, apparently outfitting for the field and conferring with Colonel John Gibbon. From there the column moved out along the line of construction. On the 26th, they were at Rock Creek, the 28th at Medicine Bow River, the 30th at Brown's Summitt, and on the 2nd of May, the column was at the North Platte Crossing.<sup>22</sup>

This first show of force of the season came none too soon. The grading crews of the railroad were moving fast, about three miles a day, according to the *Frontier Index*. Indians attacked one of these groups of workmen on Thursday, April 23, wounding three of the workmen seriously enough to require hospitalization, and another slightly. The paper sharply noted the relationship of Indian troubles to the negotiations, saying:

The men say they saw the Indians coming, and could have escaped, but as they were dressed in soldier's uniform they supposed it was a scouting party. The Indians draw soldiers uniform from the Agents at Fort Laramie, and come down on the grade and kill the laborers.<sup>23</sup>

This does not appear to have been idle journalistic speculation, for photos in General Augur's own collection show numerous Indians in possession of items of issue uniform, in the good condition of recent issue.<sup>24</sup> The same issue of the newspaper noted the passage of Dodge's four-company column through Laramie City the day following the incident.<sup>25</sup> Two of the wounded men died not long after, A. McConner on the 30th of April, and C. King, on the morning of May 5.<sup>26</sup>

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21. Telegram: Russell to Stevenson, April 17, 1868, Hq. Dept. of the  
Platte in the Field, RG98, NARS.

22. Special Orders #2, Bn. of 30th Inf., April 19, 1868; Circulars of Bn.  
of 30th Inf., April 21, 22, 23, 1868; S.O. #7, Bn. of 30th Inf., April 26,  
1868; S. O. #10 and 11, Bn. of 30th Inf., April 30 and May 2 resp. 1868.

23. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, D.T., April 28, 1868.

24. This set of pictures is well known and many of them have been  
widely published. The originals are on file at the Newberry Library in  
Chicago, many individual views are on file at Wyoming Archives and His-  
torical Department and a substantially complete set of copy negatives are  
on file at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

25. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, April 28, 1868.

26. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, May 5, 1868.

Major Dodge made his headquarters at the crossing from the 2nd on, though the battalion was seldom concentrated at one place during the spring and early summer.<sup>27</sup> Formal orders for the establishment of a military post at the North Platte Crossing of the U. P. were issued as General Orders #16, Headquarters, Department of the Platte on May 12, 1868.<sup>28</sup> Dodge began to use the name Fort Steele on June 18, in orders and correspondence; but he did not officially establish the post according to his monthly post return until the 30th of June, 1868.<sup>29</sup>

During June, he had only Company B at the North Platte Crossing, with Company G stationed at Medicine Bow during most of the month, then patrolling from that point to Elk Mountain, on to the Overland crossing of the North Platte, and ultimately into camp at the end of the month at "Warm Springs."<sup>30</sup>

During this same period, Company A camped eight miles north of Elk Mountain, guarding woodcutters, telegraph builders and track layers on the railway.<sup>31</sup>

Company F camped at and patrolled around Rock Creek guarding the railroad bridge and grading contractors.<sup>32</sup>

Dodge began getting out some construction lumber early in June, but this may have been simply for flooring and framing for his tents in anticipation of arrival of better equipment, funds, and civilian employees for construction work at a later point.<sup>33</sup>

Some historians have tended to overlook the importance of activities on the part of the Fort D. A. Russell, Fort Sanders, Fort Fred Steele garrisons in the summer of 1868 in favor of the dramatic swirl of events at Fort Laramie. A substantial amount has been written about the 1868 treaty. There was a swarm of Indians there. A distinguished list of treaty commissioners vied for center stage with a colorful selection of "chiefs" from the various plains tribes. The government handed out a small fortune in various presents, and the Indians paraded in it for the photographer General Augur brought along. Most westerners knew the impact of the treaty could not be very great, when the Indians had no truly organized government that could secure compliance, and when it was politically improbable that the white government could be much more effective once the frontier moved a bit further in on the Indian country. Perhaps the most valuable yield of the whole

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27. S. O. #28, Fort Steele, June 18, 1868, RG98, NARS.

28. G.O. #16, Hq. Department of the Platte, May 12, 1868, RG98, NARS.

29. Post Return, Fort Fred Steele, for June 1868, RG98, NARS.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. S.O. #23, Hq. Bn. 30th Inf., June 5, 1868, RG98, National Archives.

great show was the number of Indians it kept tied down in talk while the rails pushed west.

Throughout the summer, the Indians in their usual fashion did continue to look for targets of opportunity along the line of rail construction. That there were few casualties is a tribute to the efficiency and discipline of the troops in their patrol and escort duty, along with the heavy salting of Civil War combat veterans among the railroad construction men. All the while the talks dragged on at Fort Laramie, the slim ribbon of steel unwound across the Laramie Plains and the desert to the west, providing the ultimate regional answer to the Indian question.

The troops were spread thinly along the line and further dispersed by escort and patrol duty.

On June 11, one civilian was killed near Cooper's Creek.<sup>34</sup> By the 20th of June, grading was under way west of the North Platte, and the Indians attacked one group of workmen and killed and scalped two men. On the same day,

. . . a party of five Indians dashed down to the bank of the river, directly opposite to where the soldiers are quartered, and drove off six head of stock.<sup>35</sup>

The editor of the item acidly commented:

At last accounts the soldiers were busy cleaning their guns, and it is thought will start in pursuit of the "red devils" in a few days.<sup>36</sup>

Such a comment betrayed the fact that the editor had not yet been west to the crossing, where the June rise in the river was a good deal more perilous than a few Indians. It is worth comment also that the troops in the Powder River country in 1866 learned at considerable cost the lesson about hasty and disorganized pursuit of Indian stock thieves.

The fact that there were few attacks bears out our contention that the troops were doing their job well. Plainsmen had long known that one seldom saw a hostile Indian if he gave evidence of alertness and preparedness. (Perhaps this is one of the greater and more general truths of human relations and applicable far beyond historic Indian affairs.)

There were a lot of other complications to military life that summer. As is well known, the westward course of the railroad attracted a host of hangers-on. Land and townsite speculators often led the march. The "Hell-on Wheels" town of tents, boards and pre-fabricated structures paced its movements to the peak concentration of construction payrolls. Moving out of "winter quar-

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34. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, June 16, 1868.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, June 23, 1868.

ters" in Cheyenne and Laramie, the lead elements of this particular frontier arrived at the North Platte Crossing late in May.<sup>37</sup>

They adopted General G. M. Dodge's name of "Brownsville" for their camp, and hoped it would become the crossing town. By this time they should have known better. It is quite evident that townsite speculation was one of the profitable sidelines for railroad officials and their close associates. There could be no profit in a pre-empted townsite, and this was no exception.<sup>38</sup>

As the rails drew closer, the townsite developers associated with the road surveyed a new site about a mile-and-a-half west of the crossing and named it "Benton" after the long-lived and vociferous old western promoter Thomas Hart Benton.<sup>39</sup>

Brownsville had a short and turbulent life that was directly terminated by military action. The first notice of the gathering of speculators there appears in the May 28 edition of *Frontier Index*.<sup>40</sup> On June 2, the same paper announced it was sending a recently acquired second press to North Platte Crossing, beginning a process of "leapfrogging" offices that characterized its further movement across Wyoming.<sup>41</sup> By the 19th of June, the paper announced that its office would not stop at Brownsville, but would move on to Green River.<sup>42</sup>

Shortly after the official establishment of Fort Fred Steele on June 30, Major Richard I. Dodge sealed Brownsville's fate in General Orders #1 of that post on July 2, 1868. He proclaimed a three-mile-radius military reservation around the post. At the same time, he forbade citizens to reside at any other point within the reservation than at "the R. R. town known as Benton." He further placed Benton under military authority until such time as the territorial legislature (far away in Yankton, D. T.) should grant the community a city charter. He appointed J. P. Bartlett, a U. S. Commissioner, as Provost Judge of the military reservation, with appeals from his decisions only to the post commander.<sup>43</sup>

On July 7, the newspaper, still in Laramie, published a report from Benton datelined July 4 which said:

The new town is being built up pretty rapidly, and business is opening up brisk. Town lots are worth from \$150 to \$280. The town of Brownsville is moving over the river as fast as they can take them across the ferry. The town has been unusually quiet for the past week.<sup>44</sup>

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37. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, May 28, 1868.

38. Grenville M. Dodge, notebook in the Grenville M. Dodge Papers, Council Bluffs (Iowa) Free Public Library.

39. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, June 2, 1868.

40. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, May 28, 1868.

41. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, June 2, 1868.

42. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, June 19, 1868.

43. G.O. #1, Ft. Fred Steele, D.T., July 2, 1868, RG98, NARS.

44. *Frontier Index*, July 7, 1868.

On July 13, Dodge published General Orders #3, giving detailed law-enforcement regulations for the town and providing for a speedy trial and punishment of offenders. In additional orders on the 15th and 17th of July, Dodge set up a permanent provost guard detail and added further regulations about imprisonments and trials.<sup>45</sup>

The peak of the boom at Benton apparently occurred early in August, when a writer of *Frontier Index* visited the place, describing it as "some two hundred framed tents and portable buildings," and made reference to "perhaps, three thousand people in and around Benton and many trains outfitting for Green River."<sup>46</sup> At this point, the railroad was operating that far, and this was the jumping off place for points further west.

On August 17, Colonel Stevenson, now in command of the post, offered the citizens of Benton the option of adopting a de facto civil government for the town, whereupon he would withdraw the provost guard.<sup>47</sup> The necessity of a civil government for Benton must have been nearly past, for on August 25, the *Frontier Index*, by then publishing at Green River City, said, "The whole of Benton is on the road to Bryan City."<sup>48</sup>

Stevenson withdrew the last provost guard at Benton on September 7.<sup>49</sup> Roving ad-salesman/reporter Chance L. Harris of the *Frontier Index* wrote on 5th:

Business is rather dull in this city at present. Everybody is getting ready to move to the new town of Bryan at their earliest opportunity.<sup>50</sup>

Four days later he writes:

Virtue asserts her sway; plethoric pocket-books are safe from midnight marruders; cold weather has choked off the daily demi-monde baths in the Platte.

Benton is happy as a mackerel in cashmere socks.<sup>51</sup>

In the Dakota Territorial elections of October 13, Benton is listed as one of the points returning votes, with just under 300 votes cast. Since there are no separate returns for Fort Steele, we must presume this total includes the vote of soldiers, railroad workers and others at both the post itself and Benton.<sup>52</sup>

As quickly as Dodge's order in July had forced the move from

45. G.O. #3, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, July 13, 1868; S.O. #44, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, July 15, 1868; S.C. #45, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, July 17, 1868.

46. *Frontier Index*, Green River City, August 11, 1868.

47. G. O. #21, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, D.T., August 17, 1868, RG98, NARS.

48. *Frontier Index*, Green River City, August 25, 1868.

49. G.O. #38, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, September 7, 1868.

50. *Frontier Index*, Green River City, September 5, 1868.

51. *Frontier Index*, Green River City, September 10, 1868.

52. *Frontier Index*, Green River City, October 31, 1868.

Brownsville to Benton, an order from Stevenson in November brought about Benton's end, for on November 23, the Colonel ordered all liquor sales at that point to cease under threat of destruction of property and confinement at hard labor at the post.<sup>53</sup> So ends the Benton story. Later military correspondence indicates that even the railroad did not establish a permanent station there, but centralized its activity quickly at Fort Steele itself as the rails moved on.<sup>54</sup> Benton was through military control probably the quietest end-of-track town on the entire rail line!

While the flurry of railway construction activity swept past the Fort Steele area, many other things were going on that affected the development of the post. Through the closing weeks of July, troops at Fort C. F. Smith, Fort Philip Kearny, and Fort Reno sorted and packed their supplies and equipment. Supplies not worth transporting to another potential point of use were dumped nearby. Useful and valuable supplies were loaded into a stream of wagon trains and then taken overland to Fort Fetterman and Fort Fred Steele. The abandonment of the Bozeman Trail posts was really quite well timed. The flurry of military activity in the region kept some of the Indians watchful at least. The stores that were abandoned at each post gave them something interesting to do for a while (several weeks in the case of the Cheyennes at Fort Phil Kearny.) And by the time the posts had been abandoned for several weeks, the railway was beyond the most potentially hostile country, with troops stationed at each station to guard it, and patrols ready to respond to telegraphic calls for help.

Supplies from the northern posts that came to Fort Fred Steele included the sawmills and related equipment from Fort Reno, and with them an experienced sawmill engineer (civilian), B. T. Ryan.<sup>55</sup> With the arrival of this equipment, the post quartermaster, Lieutenant Scott, made an appeal for funds with which to hire other skilled workmen to round out the force needed for construction at the post.<sup>56</sup>

On top of patrolling for hostile Indians, guarding the small rail stations and construction camps, beginning construction of the post itself, providing a government for the temporary town of Benton, the soldiers of the garrison were called out frequently in

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53. S.O. #93, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, November 23, 1868, RG98, NARS.

54. Ltr. R. deTrobriand, Col. 13th Inf., Commanding Post, to A.G., Dept. of the Platte, October 13, 1873, Ft. Fred Steele letters sent, RG98, National Archives.

55. Murray, *op. cit.*, Athearn (both) *op. cit.*

56. Ltr. 2d Lt. John Scott, AAQM to Post Commander, July 30, 1868, endorsement, John D. Stevenson, Col. 30th Inf., Comdg. Post to Ch.Q.M., Department of the Platte, July 30, 1868, RG98, NARS.

pursuit of stock thieves.<sup>57</sup> Once in June a force went west at the request of railroad officials to quell a threatened riot in connection with labor problems at the construction camps near Green River.<sup>58</sup> A busy season for a garrison that averaged 300 men, scattered over a territory some two hundred miles long and 50 miles wide!

In the afterglow of the Fort Laramie Treaty negotiations, the government had General Augur issue a circular to post commanders in the Department of the Platte on August 29, instructing them carefully on their relationship with bands of Indians they might find hunting or roaming in the recently ceded territory where the Indians still had hunting rights until the land was occupied.<sup>59</sup>

The recipients must have read this in some amusement, for with treaties, sun dances, and assorted other summer festivities completed, the Indians were on the move again.

A large force of Indians was reported on the 27th of August to have crossed the mountains near the head of LaPrele Canyon, scattering out over the Laramie Plain. At Cheyenne, a man was reported killed and scalped within sight of town. The stage line briefly suspended operations between Cheyenne and Denver. On the 29th, a section hand was beaten by Indians at Separation Creek, some 30 miles west of Fort Steele.<sup>60</sup>

Troops were alerted all along the line. Their vigilance paid off in preventing the incidents that could have occurred. There was one skirmish near Cooper's Creek on the 29th.<sup>61</sup>

The general air of Indian activity along with persistent brushes between citizens and Indians in the region outside the reservations assigned in the treaties led to a new circular from Department of the Platte headquarters on October 1, 1868:

Since the issue of Circular of August 29th, 1868 concerning the rights of Indians to hunt over the ceded land, their conduct has evinced such general hostility that in the opinion of the proper authority their further stay between the North Platte and the Smoky Hill rivers is inadmissible.

The friendly Indians have withdrawn from that country and you are instructed that hereafter until further orders all Indians found there are to be regarded as hostile and treated accordingly.<sup>62</sup>

57. S.O. #27, Hq. Ft. Steele, June 16, 1868, RG98, NARS. *Frontier Index*, Laramie, June 5, 1868; S.O. #31, Hq. Ft. Steele, D.T., June 26, 1868; G.O. #25, Hq. Ft. Steele, D.T., August 21, 1868; G.O. #36, Hq. Ft. Steele, September 5, 1868.

58. Telegram, S. B. Reed, UPRR to Gen. C. C. Augur, Dept. of the Platte, June 5, 1868.

59. Circular to Commanding Officers, Department of the Platte, August 29, 1868, Ft. Steel Letters Received, RG98, NARS.

60. *Frontier Index*, Green River City, August 29, 1868.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

After this brief flurry of activity, the Sioux appear to have largely withdrawn northward to hunt in the now undisturbed country east of the Big Horns and around the Black Hills. The Cheyennes, however, became embroiled further in conflict along the trails connecting the Kansas settlements with those of Colorado, as yet without a rail connection. This was the autumn of furious warfare on the Kansas and Colorado plains, the autumn of Beecher Island, and ultimately of the Washita.<sup>63</sup>

During those months, Fort Fred Steele's garrison gained a respite in which to make rapid progress on construction of the post.

Logs were cut in the Grand Encampment valley and along the slopes of Elk Mountain. The two steam sawmills at the post rapidly turned them into timbers and lumber for basic construction. Steadily the tent camp occupied by Dodge's and Stevenson's men during the summer gave place to a procession of structures put up in proper procedural order. First came housing for supplies. Some simple plank and canvas warehouse space appears in a Hull photo. Barracks were ordinarily next in order of priority. These were ready for occupancy by the first of December, 1868.<sup>64</sup> Two of these 1868 log barracks still stand, two of the oldest surviving barracks of the few that still exist from the western forts. Officers quarters were ready for occupancy by the first of February, 1869,<sup>65</sup> though laundresses and married n. c. o. quarters were still framed and floored canvas tents for several more years.<sup>66</sup>

By midwinter, then, Fort Fred Steele had all the main essentials of a typical western post plus the advantages of good transportation and communication. It was ready to fall into the ordered, but not always routine, pattern of frontier post function.

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63. Athearn, . . . Sherman . . . *op. cit.*

64. Assistant Surgeon J. K. Corson and AA Surgeon R. A. Christian, Fort Steele, W.T., in Surgeon General's Office, Circular #4, *A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with Descriptions of Military Posts*, Wn.D.C., GPO, 1870, p. 357-358.

65. Circular #8, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, February 2, 1869, RG98, NARS; letter to officers, February 12, 1869, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, re/assignment of quarters, letters sent, RG98, NARS.

66. Letter, 1st Lt. G. M. Bascomb, RQM 13th Inf. AAQM Ft. Fred Steele, to Post Commander, October 11, 1872; endorsement of Post Commander to Ch.Q.M. Dept. Platte, October 11, 1872, all in L.S. Ft. Fred Steele, RG98, NARS.

## II. MILITARY OPERATIONS OUT OF FORT FRED STEELE, 1869-1886

A review of the army's operations based on Fort Fred Steele is revealing in a number of ways, but it is especially informative in these areas: It reveals the vital interrelationship of military and railroad operations in the West. It gives a good cross-section of the broad range of army activities in the West. It emphasizes the greatly extended radius of operations for each of the posts along the rail line. And it re-emphasizes, as we have contended for a long time, that the seemingly quiet and little-known posts were often among the more successful centers of military operations.

From the very beginning of the army's operations in the West, logistic factors had always been the main constraint upon the army's effectiveness. Wagon transportation was a high-cost form of transport. It was hampered by a limited range of operations and a rapidly diminishing return in its delivery capability. To illustrate this briefly:

The basic field ration for a soldier, packed for use on campaign would average out at around three pounds per man per day.<sup>1</sup> The six-mule wagon could carry up to 3500 pounds of payload on easy, dry trails. In winter and over poor roads this would be reduced to around 1500 pounds. Average loadings in the West might be around 2500 pounds in most situations. Allowing for a conservative loss and damage figure (probably representing fairly good travel conditions), one wagon load of rations would last a 300 man batallion about a week. *But* the six mules drawing the wagon would themselves consume 378 pounds of corn!<sup>2</sup> Delivered to the post that served as the expedition's jumping-off base, the corn may have cost as much as 30¢ per pound including its transportation to that point. Each wagon was driven by a citizen teamster who was paid around \$45 per month and ate the same quantity of rations as the soldiers. Additional wagons were required for camp equipment, ammunition, spares of weapons, wagon parts, the blacksmith and the wheelwright's tools and equipment. And in every case, the mules pulling the wagons had to be fed. A cavalry column, requiring 12 pounds of corn per-horse-per-day added to the logistic burden. In terms of the real values of money and the limited level of the national budget and the national economy of the time, operating costs for a column in the field quickly reached an astronomical level.

A classic case is the Connor Expedition of 1865, in which three sizeable columns pushed out into the Powder River country, only

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1. # 1191, *Revised Army Regulations*, A.G.O., Washington, D.C., 1861 edition.

2. *Ibid.* # 1121.

to be withdrawn when army cost-accountants found that Connor was running up a *transportation-cost-alone of over a million dollars a month.*<sup>3</sup>

The railroad changed all this for any post that it reached, and for any railroad siding that could become a base of operations practically overnight. By the time its main buildings were under construction in late summer and early fall of 1868, Fort Fred Steele was two days away from Omaha.<sup>4</sup> It was an easy six hours by rail from its major supply base at Cheyenne Quartermaster Depot, and only about four hours away from support of other troops at Fort Sanders.<sup>5</sup>

The small detachments stationed along the rail line in summer could telegraph for help of any kind and expect it to arrive in a few hours.

The strategic implications of the coming of the railroad and the telegraph to any given area of the West cannot be overestimated! These two systems brought with them the capability for rapid tactical response and for effective strategic operations. Together they



Photo by Junge, Wyoming Recreation Commission

#### BRIDGE TENDER'S HOUSE

The Union Pacific Railroad bridge tender's house at Fort Steele was built around 1869-1870, near the point at which the Union Pacific bridges spanned the North Platte River. This photo was taken in June, 1972.

3. Hafen, LeRoy R. and Ann W., *The Powder River Campaigns and Sawyer's Expedition*, (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1961).

4. Union Pacific Railroad schedules and timetables in the Colorado Railroad Museum, Golden, Colorado.

5. *Ibid.*

increased the effectiveness of any given body of troops many fold. We emphasize the point since Fort Fred Steele lived out its useful life in a strategic context woven together with these communication and transportation links.

Winter was often a time of quiet at western posts, but this did not last long that first winter at Fort Fred Steele. On the last night in January, 22 mules were stolen from a contractor's train at the post. Lieutenant J. H. Hays and eight enlisted men went in pursuit. They recaptured all the stock in two fights with the thieves,<sup>6</sup> and captured five of the thieves.<sup>6</sup>

Lieutenant Hays led a party scouting for hostile Indians toward Fort Fetterman early in March. His force consisted of himself, two other officers, 21 soldiers, and two citizens.<sup>7</sup>

The garrison had early proof that the Indians had not abandoned the region when on March 22 a band of Indians ran off mules from a government wagon train within 2½ miles of the post.

. . . 2nd Lt. R. H. Young, 30th Infantry, with 35 men from Co.'s A.B.F.H.& I., 30th Inf'ty. (mounted on mules) were sent in pursuit, with the Indians having several hours start. They, however, came up to the camp of the red skins about 10 o'clock p.m.; when the party dismounted and leaving the animals in the rear attacked the Indians (about 30-40 in number) from two sides and after a short fight succeeded in routing them taking possession of all the stolen stock and nine horses and four mules and the entire equipage belonging to the Indians. They returned to this post next day having traveled 120 miles in 20 hours. Casualties 5 Indians killed. Number wounded unknown owing to the darkness of the night. No casualties on our side. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Later in the spring, another incident gives an early example of the cooperation of posts and units in breaking up the Indian's freedom of movement in the region. On May 21 the commanding officer at Fort Sanders relayed a telegram he had received from Fort Fetterman reporting that "about 30 Minnecongious under Lone Horn's Son passed through Red Butte Canyon toward the

6. Telegram, Col. John Stevenson, Ft. Steele to Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, February 1, 1869. Letters Sent, Ft. Steele, Record Group 98, National Archives and Records Service. Telegram, Stevenson to AGDP, February 3, 1869; Post Return, Ft. Steele, March 1869.

Note: Hereinafter, we will be abbreviating our citations in the interest of keeping footnotes to a useful length. Letters and telegrams originating at Fort Steele will be assumed to be from Letters Sent, those directed to Fort Steele from other headquarters will be assumed to be within the post's Letters Received (Documents File) unless otherwise noted. Material from the various headquarters should be assumed to be in RG98, National Archives and Records Service unless otherwise noted.

7. Tabular Statement of Campaigns, Expeditions and Scouts by the Ft. Steele garrison, March 31, 1869.

8. Post Return, Ft. Steele, March, 1869.

Rail Road a few days ago."<sup>9</sup> That same day, Lieutenant J. H. Spencer with a detachment from the post had a skirmish with this band.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout this period, returns carry the usual notation about troops performing the routine garrison duties and furnishing escorts for trains.

This was the summer of Colonel E. A. Carr's extensive operations in Kansas, Colorado and Nebraska, and from the extent of his campaign it is evident that most of the hostile Cheyennes and many other Indians were concentrated in that region during the main part of the summer.<sup>11</sup>

Following their dispersal by Carr in July at Summit Springs, the hostiles scattered far and wide to recoup their losses and secure meat for the coming winter.<sup>12</sup> As commonly happened, they resumed hostilities in late summer.

Troops escorting wood trains from Fort Laramie had a skirmish and lost one man near Laramie Peak on September 12. Two days later there were two fights out in the Wind River country, with a total of three soldiers and one civilian killed, two Indians killed and ten wounded.<sup>13</sup>

Action came next to the Fort Steele garrison on the 15th. A detachment from Company B, Fourth Infantry under Lieutenant J. H. Spencer, fought with about 300 Indians at Whiskey Gap, losing one man.<sup>14</sup>

On the 17th, stage coaches and mail escorts were attacked at widely separated places such as Twin Creek (in the South Pass country) and Point of Rocks.<sup>15</sup>

The country then quieted down somewhat until December, when a mail escort between Fort Laramie and Fort Fetterman skirmished with the hostiles.<sup>16</sup> Clearly the 1868 treaty had not brought an end to hostilities here nor elsewhere around the periphery of the Indian Country.<sup>17</sup>

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9. Telegram, Potter (Ft. Sanders) to C.O., Ft. Steele, May 21, 1869.

10. George W. Webb, *Chronological List of Engagements*, cited in full in Part I, p. 46.

11. Lt. Gen. P. H. Sheridan (Commanding) *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882*, Washington, GPO, 1882, p. 21-23. (hereinafter cited as *Record of Engagements*.)

12. Savoie Lottinville (ed.) George Hyde, *Life of George Brent*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 328-340.

13. *Record of Engagements*, p. 23-24.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Robert G. Athearn, *William Tecumseh Sherman and the Settlement of the West*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). E. S. Topping, *Chronicles of the Yellowstone*, (ed. Robert A. Murray), (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1968).

The pace of Indian movements in the region soon accelerated. On New Years Day of 1870, the telegraph line carried news to Omaha and to Fort Steele of a report by an Arapaho Indian that a party of Sioux had passed their camp near Red Buttes, headed for either Fort Steele or the Sweetwater country.<sup>18</sup> Major W. H. Lewis of the 7th Infantry, commanding Fort Fred Steele at this time, sent out Lieutenant R. H. Young and a mounted detachment from the post. They spent a day scouting in the direction of expected approach, but without contacting the Indians.<sup>19</sup>

On March 28, a group of Indians and/or halfbreeds staged a horse raid on the edge of Rawlins, and got away with two civilian horses. Three of their own horses were wounded by return fire, and one of their number called "long or short Joe" was killed in the skirmish.<sup>20</sup>

The army's new mobility along the rail lines is illustrated by one move to reenforce the points along the line in the spring of 1870. On April 4, the Headquarters, Department of the Platte, sent out Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2nd Cavalry to base himself at Medicine Bow and scout the country near the passes through the mountains.<sup>21</sup> Captain Thomas B. DeWees of the 2nd Cavalry was ordered two days later to take his company to Rawlins, scouting the country north of there in similar fashion.<sup>22</sup> And in addition, the post commander at Fort Fred Steele sent out Lieutenant G. M. Bomford with a detachment of mounted infantry to scout the country north of Percy and Medicine Bow.<sup>23</sup>

During this active winter, the Fort Steele garrison also went to the assistance of six trains snowed in at points along the route between there and Laramie.<sup>24</sup>

Assistance to citizens in many capacities was a routine army function, long established in the West. Early in June a prospecting party called the "Big Horn Expedition" passed Fort Fred Steele. Major James S. Brisbin, by then in command of the post, sent a note to their leader, saying in part:

. . . I congratulate you upon your safe arrival at this post and take occasion to say that any assistance I can render you, personally or officially, will cheerfully be accorded. If you should need to repair

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18. Telegram, Capt. Eugene Wells, Ft. Fetterman to C.O. Fort Steele, January 1, 1870; telegram, G. B. Russell, DP, to C.O. Ft. Steele, January 2, 1870.

19. Telegram, Major Lewis, Ft. Steele to AGDP, January 3, 1870.

20. Telegram, C.O. Ft. Steele to C.O. Ft. Laramie, March 29, 1870.

21. Ltr. AGDP to Noyes, April 4, 1870.

22. Ltr. AGDP to DeWees, April 6, 1870.

23. Ltr. Bomford to Post Adjutant, Ft. Steele, April 7, 1870.

24. Grenville M. Dodge, *How We Built the Union Pacific Railroad*, reprint by Sage Books, Denver, 1962.

any of your wagons or harness, the shops and tools at this post are at your disposal.<sup>25</sup>

Hostile Indians next moved against the miners scattered through the placers of the South Pass country. Captain D. S. Gordon of the 2nd Cavalry was in that area when one of the attacks came. His company pursued a band of Indians near Miner's Delight on May 4, 1870. When they caught up with them, a sharp fight ensued in which seven Indians were killed. Gordon's force lost Lieutenant Charles Stambaugh and one enlisted man. The camp Gordon's men established that month eventually became a permanent post named Camp Stambaugh.<sup>26</sup>

Lieutenant C. T. Hall with a detachment of Company I, 2nd Cavalry, had a skirmish with Indians near Medicine Bow on June 25.<sup>27</sup> Reports came in the next morning to Fort Steele of Indians sighted from the train near Como Bluff and Medicine Bow.<sup>28</sup> Brisbin, Noyes, and DeWees all coordinated their movements by telegraph in patrolling the area.<sup>29</sup>

One of Brisbin's patrols, under Lieutenant R. H. Young, struck a force of 200 Indians at Pine Grove Meadow on June 27, killing 15 Indians, having but one soldier wounded, and routing the Indian force.<sup>30</sup>

DeWees' company (A, 2nd Cavalry) was ordered into the field from Rawlins again in August to escort Governor McCook to the Ute Agency and back. By the time they returned to Rawlins, they were called in to winter at Fort Fred Steele.<sup>31</sup>

In the fall of 1870, another type of operation occupied some of the garrison and staff of Fort Fred Steele. The sheriff of Carbon County occasionally had civilian prisoners and no jail in which to house them. From time to time, the county officials brought civilians to the post and had them confined in the Fort Steele guardhouse. Acting under orders from the Commanding General, Department of the Platte, the post commander billed the county for their board. Thus began a long controversy between the army and the county over this practice. Ultimately, the Commanding General, Department of the Platte, ordered all the posts in the department to discontinue this service to civilian authorities.<sup>32</sup>

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25. Ltr. Brisbin to W. T. Kuykendall, June 3, 1870; also: Topping, op. cit., p. 81-82.

26. *Record of Engagements*, p. 27.

27. *Record of Engagements*, p. 28.

28. Telegram, Brisbin to AGDP, June 26, 1870.

29. Ltr. Brisbin to Noyes, June 27, 1870.

30. *Record of Engagements*, p. 28.

31. Ltr. Lt. Col. H. A. Morrow to AGDP, August 9, 1870; endorsement, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele on same; telegram, Adj't. Ft. Steele to Lt. O'Brien, Rawlins, Oct. 28, 1870; telegram, Lt. Col. Bradley, to AGDP, October 29, 1870.

32. Ltr. Col. Morrow to Probate Judge D. T. Edmonds, August 8, 1870;

The year 1871 was one of the quietest of the decade on the plains, and the garrison of Fort Steele was not involved in any active campaign against the Indians. As evidence of the beginning of changes in the region, though, labor troubles arose close by in the mines at Carbon. Not long after the completion of the railroad through the region, coal deposits were discovered to be of adequate quality and quantity to serve as locomotive fuel.

The Wyoming Coal Mining Company served for a time as operating contractors for the railroad's mines.<sup>33</sup> At Carbon, about 40 miles east of Fort Fred Steele, the miners struck for higher wages on April 20, 1871. After several days of negotiations, the majority of miners broke off negotiations and threatened the men who had agreed to resume and did in fact resume work. The major faction then imprisoned the workers in the mine and further threatened them.

Lieutenant Col. A. G. Brackett, 2nd Cavalry, soon received orders from Department of the Platte Headquarters to proceed to Carbon with a force to intervene in the dispute.<sup>34</sup> Colonel Brackett took with him Captain Seth Bonney and 1st Lieutenant W. M. Waterberry, and Company D, 13th Infantry. They traveled by a special UPRR train to Carbon, arriving about 8:30 p.m. on April 29.<sup>35</sup>

On their arrival, Brackett found that the threatened miners had barricaded themselves in the mine after the rioters ran cars of flaming material to the mine entrance to attempt to smoke them out. The rioters' temper was such that Brackett reported he expected to have to fight them. There was no fight, however, and the troops settled down to guard the mining company and railroad property.<sup>36</sup> The main force under Captain Bonney remained until May 16, and a force of 15 men under a sergeant remained until June 4.<sup>37</sup>

This was not to be the last time the troops from Fort Steele were called to intervene in strikes and riots, but they had a respite from this duty for a few years.

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Ltr. C. W. Willson to C.O. Ft. Steele, November 7, 1870; identical letters: Lt. Col. A. G. Brackett to J. W. Hugus, J.P., and P. Lemon, Sheriff, June 1, 1871.

33. Anon., *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines*, (Omaha: Colonial Press, 1940), p. 43-44.

34. S.O. #66, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, April 29, 1871.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, April 1871; statement: James Williams, Sup't. of Mines, same date.

37. Telegram: AGDP to C.O. Ft. Fred Steele, May 5, 1871; telegram, Brackett to C. E. Wilson, Co. Atty., May 7, 1871; S.O. #70, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 6, 1871; S.O. #79, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 16, 1871; S.O. #81, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 19, 1871; S.O. #87, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 31, 1871; S.O. #89, Hq. Ft. Steele, June 4, 1871.

There were a variety of other events in 1871 that gave abundant diversion from police work! Clarence King of the U. S. Geological Survey led his expedition out of Fort Steele early in May, having received forage for his stock there.<sup>38</sup>

Early in June, about 40 Utes, among them the later prominent "Ute Jack", Hunter and "Douglas", came to Fort Steele and sought to trade. Unable to do so, they left amicably and headed for their reservation.<sup>39</sup>

On July 2, 1871, word reached the post that gold had been discovered in the Seminoe range about 35 miles north of the post.<sup>40</sup> Soon Silas Reed, Surveyor General for Wyoming Territory, requested an escort from Brackett to explore the area, and Brackett endorsed his request and applied for permission to take out an expedition to ascertain both the extent of the discoveries and the probability of Indian trouble in the area.<sup>41</sup>

An expedition led by Lieutenant Colonel Henry Morrow, 13th Infantry, returned on August 11, and forwarded his maps and journal of the expedition to the Omaha headquarters. In his report, he commented upon a number of new geographic discoveries about the course of the Platte, the geologic character of the region traversed, and upon the initial discoveries of the prospectors. He closed with a recommendation that the mining district be attached to the jurisdiction of the post.<sup>42</sup> General Augur soon ordered:

The Seminole Mining District is attached to the command of Fort Fred Steele, W.T., and the Commanding Officer of that post will take necessary steps to afford protection to miners there, should it become necessary.<sup>43</sup>

Morrow made one more trip to the mining area with a small escort that summer.<sup>44</sup>

The year 1872 was another quiet one, operationally, at Fort Fred Steele. That year most of the action centered along the Yellowstone, where the Baker Expedition and the Stanley Expedition were surveying for the Northern Pacific Railroad, and where prospectors were working the mountains of southern Montana and northern Wyoming.<sup>45</sup>

When the surveying party of Downey and Grant of the U. S. Geological Survey requested an escort in August of 1872, Captain Thomas B. DeWees, commanding Fort Fred Steele stated that:

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38. S.O. #78, Hq. DP, May 10, 1871.

39. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, June 11, 1871.

40. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, July 2, 1871.

41. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, July 11, 1871.

42. Ltr., Morrow to AGDP, August 11, 1871.

43. S.O. #142, Hq. DP, August 14, 1871.

44. S.O. #146, Hq. Ft. Steele, September 10, 1871.

45. *Record of Engagements*, p. 32-33.

. . . from reports from the miners there are nearly fifty men there. They have neither seen nor heard of Indians this past spring or summer.<sup>46</sup>

The sole engagement of the season occurred in early September when Lieutenant Randolph Norwood, with Company B, 2nd Cavalry, attacked a hostile band between Beaver Creek and the Sweetwater, killing one Indian.<sup>47</sup>

Each summer, the army kept up the general practice of garrisoning the stations along the UP Railroad during the season when Indians would likely be on the move.

The troops so engaged were roused by one good scare in mid-summer of 1873. Sheriff William Hawley of Carbon County telegraphed the post on June 28 that a man had been shot and stock stolen near Rawlins on the 27th. He stated that he, with a nine-man posse, had pursued the hostiles south to Pine Grove where they had a brief fire-fight with them. He requested troops immediately.<sup>48</sup>

Colonel Regis DeTrobriand, commanding the post, replied that all his cavalry was at Medicine Bow Station.<sup>49</sup> Hawley then asked for "25 stand of good guns and supply of ammunition."<sup>50</sup> DeTrobriand refused to supply these.<sup>51</sup>

All kinds of rumors ensued, because there had been a band of Utes camped near the town racing horses with the citizens. Some thought the "raid" was somehow involved as an aftermath of the horse races. Some thought Hawley and the posse were having a little "horse raid" of their own. DeTrobriand cautiously investigated. Territorial Governor John A. Campbell went through to Rawlins on the train and investigated the situation himself and conferred with DeTrobriand on his return. He could not put together the facts either, but applied to DeTrobriand for a small detachment to be stationed in Rawlins to watch the situation.<sup>52</sup> This DeTrobriand did on July 1.<sup>53</sup>

Lieutenant B. H. Rogers and 16 men went down to Rawlins to camp and investigate the affair. Rogers was able to determine that the citizens were confused because there had been a visit of a friendly party of Utes as well as an attack by a band of Arapahoes.<sup>54</sup>

On the night of July 14, 1873, a band of Indians, supposed also

46. Ltr. DeWees to AGDP, August 2, 1872.

47. *Record of Engagements*, p. 33.

48. Telegram, Hawley to C.O. Ft. Steele, June 28, 1873.

49. Telegram, DeTrobriand to Hawley, June 28, 1873.

50. Telegram, Hawley to DeTrobriand, June 28, 1873.

51. Telegram, DeTrobriand to Hawley, June 28, 1873.

52. Telegram, DeTrobriand to AGDP, July 1, 1873.

53. S.O. # 62, Hq. Ft. Steele, July 1, 1873.

54. Ltr., DeTrobriand to AGDP, July 13, 1873.

to be Arapahoes, raided a hay cutters' camp on Pass Creek at the foot of Elk Mountain. Through telegraphic communication, DeTrobriand launched a cooperative effort with the post commander at Fort D. A. Russell. Captain Deane Monahan, 3rd Cavalry, went out from that post by train to Percy, while Captain Thomas B. DeWees, 2nd Cavalry, took his company out from Fort Fred Steele. DeWees did not find any considerable sign of hostiles, and DeTrobriand held Monahan's company at trackside at Percy to await DeWees' report. Upon its receipt, DeWees was withdrawn to his summer post at Medicine Bow, and the troops from Fort D. A. Russell rode the train back to their post. This is but one example of how the telegraph and the railroad saved countless miles of futile "rumor chasing" marches over the years.<sup>55</sup>

These flurries of activity were just as arduous for the men involved as campaigns with some visible result, and hence disliked by most hands, except through providing a change from garrison routine. They were a necessary part of the process of settling the region. It seems particularly noteworthy in the above incidents that the army did not move hastily, but made a careful effort to get the facts straight in order not to launch a punitive expedition that would have opened a more general state of Indian warfare!

The nearest serious engagement between troops and Indians that year occurred when Captain "Teddy" Egan's command of two companies of the 2nd Cavalry out of Fort Laramie recovered 18 horses and mules from a Sioux war party on the North Laramie without casualties on either side.<sup>56</sup>

The year 1874 saw extensive Indian operations of various kinds by the army on the Northern Plains. These got an early start on February 8 when the agent at Whetstone Agency in Dakota reported that a war party had left his agency to attack the Utes (almost a thousand mile ride!), and that they had augmented their supplies with stolen government beef.<sup>57</sup> Other Sioux were in the field, too, since on February 9, Lieutenant L. H. Robinson and one enlisted man were killed on the sawmill road near Laramie Peak.<sup>58</sup>

Within a week, troops from Fort Fred Steele were involved. Companies B and K, 13th Infantry, and Company A, 2nd Cavalry, went by rail to Cheyenne, then marched to Fort Laramie to join a massive force called the "Sioux Expedition" under Brevet Major

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55. Telegram, DeTrobriand to Bomford, July 12, 1873; telegram, DeTrobriand to Dewees, July 12, 1873; Ltr., DeTrobriand to Monahan, July 15, 1873; Ltr., DeTrobriand to AGDP, July 17, 1873.

56. *Record of Engagements*, p. 36.

57. Ltr., Whetstone Agency to Col. John E. Smith, C.O. Ft. Laramie, February 8, 1874, in Document file, 536 AGO 1874 (Sioux Expedition records), RG98, National Archives.

58. *Record of Engagements*, p. 39.

General John E. Smith. This force marched into northwest Nebraska to the major Sioux agencies, "Red Cloud Agency" and "Spotted Tail Agency." Here they established "Camp Robinson" and "Camp Sheridan" respectively. Both of these posts attained some permanence.<sup>59</sup>

The troops remaining at Fort Fred Steele and those sent in from other posts as reinforcements saw plenty of activity that summer, too. There were some Sioux back in the region, and the Arapahoes alone provided plenty of action!

On June 17, word came into Rawlins of trouble with Indians out in the country. The well-known Ute Jack was in town with a few Utes. Someone attacked Jack, who was "cut badly about the head." Trouble was feared, but did not materialize.<sup>60</sup>

In response to Arapaho raids upon the Shoshoni, Captain A. E. Bates, with a sizeable cavalry force and numerous Shoshoni scouts and allies went looking for the concentration of Arapahoes. They attacked the Arapahoes on July 4 in the mountains at the head of Nowood Creek.<sup>61</sup> Returning from this campaign, Bates swept down the Sweetwater, looking for more scattered bands of Arapahoes. He fought one group on the 13th on Sweetwater, and another on the 19th in the Rattlesnake Hills.<sup>62</sup>

Bates operated out of Camp Brown, on Wind River, but the troops at Fort Fred Steele were busy during this period, too. Telegrams from the Headquarters, Department of the Platte, on July 3rd and 6th alerted the commanding officer of Fort Steele to the activities of Sioux hostiles around Laramie Peak, and on the Box Elder Road out of Fort Fetterman.<sup>63</sup>

On July 16, action came much closer! About 7 a.m. that day:

. . . a party of about twenty-five Indians came within a quarter of a mile of the post about 7 a.m. and drove off some stock belonging to emigrants camped on the Platte, at the same time showed themselves on three sides of the post, attempting to gather up loose stock belonging to citizens. Fire was opened on them promptly, and they retired taking only three or four head of stock, I think. A squad of Infantry was sent to trail them a few miles. They crossed over the Platte about six miles below here and took a northeast course . . .<sup>64</sup>

59. Telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, February 13, 1874; Telegrams (2) AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, February 14, 1874; S.O. #20, February 14, 1874, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele.

60. Telegram, E. H. Danforth, Rawlins, to C.O. Ft. Steele, June 18, 1874.

61. *Record of Engagements*, p. 40; also: Capt. A. E. Bates, 2nd Cavalry, Report, filed at Camp Brown, W.T., July 7, 1874 (photostat in Western Interpretive Services collections).

62. *Record of Engagements*, p. 40; also: photostats of Bates Maps in Western Interpretive Services files.

63. Telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, July 3, 1874; telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, July 6, 1874.

64. Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, July 16, 1874.

The same party of Indians had attacked a handcar between Rawlins and the post, as well as a section crew eight miles west of the post. A party of 40 citizens from Rawlins pursued them for some distance.<sup>65</sup>

Repeated evidence of Indians in the country to the north led Colonel Bradley to send out Captain Henry W. Wessells and a company of cavalry (recently arrived at Bradley's request from Fort D. A. Russell) to look for the Indians. Since these soldiers were new to the country, Bradley hired M. B. Earnest as a guide for them at \$4 per day.<sup>66</sup> The column scouted the Seminoe Mountains, and followed Indian trails some 90 miles beyond the Sweetwater, returning by way of Rawlins on July 30.<sup>67</sup>

While they were gone, action came from another quarter. On the evening of July 26, Indians ran off 70 horses from an emigrant caravan between Carbon and Medicine Bow.<sup>68</sup> A train engineer reported seeing the Indians go north in the direction of Fort Fetterman.<sup>69</sup>

Then on August 1, Indians attacked a civilian haying party about 15 miles south of Rawlins, killing a man named Johnson. Bradley sent Wessells' company out to scout that area.<sup>70</sup> Wessells scouted the area to the southwest for four days, and reported that there appeared to be small bands of Indians throughout the region, attracted by the large herds of western stock that were being driven through on the old trails.<sup>71</sup>

On August 11, 1874, Bradley ordered Captain Wessells to take his company as well as Co. D, 13th Infantry, to the Sweetwater Country to establish a scouting camp.<sup>72</sup>

The intensive campaigning and scouting by troops from Fort Steele and Camp Brown during 1874 apparently paid off. The Arapahoes quieted down appreciably, and the Sioux did not come into the region so frequently during 1875. The one Indian incident of note in 1875 occurred in April, when 17 Indians ran off all the stock at the Ferris Mines.<sup>73</sup> In response, 25 men of Co. A, 2nd

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65. *Ibid.*

66. S.O. # 107, Hq. Ft. Steele, July 19, 1874; Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, July 20, 1874.

67. Telegram, Wessells to Bradley, July 30, 1874; Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, July 31, 1874.

68. Telegram, O. Collister, Carbon, to Capt. Clift, Medicine Bow, July 26, 1874; telegram, Clift to Bradley, July 26, 1874.

69. Telegram, Clift to Bradley, July 27, 1874.

70. Telegram, J. B. Adams to Bradley, August 1, 1874; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, August 4, 1874, p. 1; S.O. # 118, Hq. Ft. Steele, August 1, 1874.

71. Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, August 6, 1874.

72. S.O. # 124, Hq. Ft. Steele, August 11, 1874.

73. Telegram, C.O. Ft. Steele to AGDP, April 20, 1875; telegram, E. Hunt, Rawlins to C.O. Ft. Steele, April 20, 1875; telegram, Dewees, Ft. Steele to AGDP, April 22, 1875.

Cavalry, were sent out under Lieutenant M. E. O'Brien, with Tom Sun as a guide, to scout through the mining country.<sup>74</sup>

Late in the summer of 1875 as a part of a general procedure at agencies in the west, the post commander at Fort Fred Steele became responsible for the inspection and safe delivery of agency goods to the Utes at White River, Colorado.<sup>75</sup>

November of 1875 brought a recurrence of labor troubles in Wyoming. In that month, strikes and riots occurred at both Carbon and Rock Springs. In both cases, troops were sent out from Fort Fred Steele. The situation was sufficiently threatening that re-enforcements were sent to both places a few days after the initial contact.<sup>76</sup> Both forces were withdrawn early in December,<sup>77</sup> but additional trouble threatened at Rock Springs, and a company was sent back in on December 23.<sup>78</sup> This time the troops at Rock Springs were not withdrawn until March 10, 1876.<sup>79</sup>

The year 1876 is best remembered nationally as a year of intensive campaigns in northern Wyoming and southern Montana and western Dakota, campaigns that with mopping up activities in 1877 and 1878 substantially cleared the hostile portions of the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians from a vast region to the west of the Black Hills, from the North Platte River to the Canadian line. Most of the attention of historians has focused on those military posts that furnished the immediate jumping off base for troops in these expeditions, such as Fort Abraham Lincoln, Fort Laramie, Fort Fetterman, and Fort Ellis. In reality, none of these posts had sufficient garrison to furnish the entire force for their own part of the expeditions of that period. Each one drew from a broad radius almost all available men for field service. General Crook in the Department of the Platte, drew upon most of the posts along the rail line within his jurisdiction.<sup>80</sup> He took some of the troops from Fort Fred Steele in March,<sup>81</sup> and more in May of 1876.<sup>82</sup> Many of these men fought with Crook at the Rosebud

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74. S.O. #48, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 23, 1875.

75. G.O. #12, Hq. Military Division of the Missouri, Chicago, August 14, 1875.

76. Post Return, Ft. Steele, November, 1875; S.O. #104, Hq. Ft. Steele, November 14, 1875; S.O. #105, Hq. Ft. Steele, November 16, 1875.

77. Telegram, Lt. R. P. Brown, to C.O. Ft. Steele, Dec. 11, 1875.

78. Post Return, Ft. Steele, December 1875; S.O. #124, Hq. Ft. Steele, December 23, 1875.

79. Post Return, Ft. Steele, March, 1876.

80. On the Sioux/Cheyenne War of 1876-77, see: Edgar I. Stewart, *Custer's Luck*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956). J. W. Vaughn, *With Crook at the Rosebud*, (Harrisburg, Pa., Stackpole, 1956). J. W. Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

81. Ft. Steele, Post Return, March, 1876.

82. Post Return, Ft. Steele, May, 1876; S.O. #45, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 12, 1876.

in June. Others escorted his supplies and equipment. Some participated in the "starvation march" and the Slim Buttes fight.

" 'Twas out upon the Yellowstone  
We had the damndest time,  
We made the trip with Rosebud George,  
Six months without a dime . . ."<sup>83</sup>

As the major campaigns on the northern plains tapered off during 1877, troops at Fort Fred Steele made improvements on the wagon road from Rock Creek Station to Fort Fetterman.<sup>84</sup> Part of the garrison patrolled the country to the north in July.<sup>85</sup> And right in the middle of this active season, Company K, 2nd Cavalry, was called away to Omaha, where a sizeable force assembled from many posts on the plains to go by train to Chicago to intervene in the 1877 railroad strike there.<sup>86</sup>

Late in August, part of the garrison rode to Green River and then marched across country to the Big Horns.<sup>87</sup> And late in September, a scouting party ranged through the country south of the post.<sup>88</sup>

In December of 1877, about 28 lodges of Ute Indians left their reservation in Colorado and roamed the country between Rawlins and Snake River. They were hunting, but reportedly near starvation. The army stated they could come into Fort Steele to await rations from the Indian Bureau. There were continued delays in the Bureau supplying rations to them, and they did not come to the post.<sup>89</sup> Army officers there were sympathetic to the plight of the Utes, and in one message stated: "How is it that through all this trouble and starvation, we hear nothing from their agent, the Reverend Mr. Danforth?"<sup>90</sup>

The army was to have abundant reason to question the relationship between the Utes and their missionary-agents over the next two years. A great deal has been written about the whole Ute affair, but essentially the situation was fairly simple. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, a number of religious, philanthropic and miscellaneous "do-gooder" organizations sought to intervene in

83. From a soldier version of the song "The Regular Army, O!" widely circulated, and reprinted by Don Rickey, Jr., in 1958, at Custer Battlefield, Crow Agency, Montana.

84. Telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, July 11, 1877.

85. S.O. #109, Hq. Ft. Steele, July 21, 1877.

86. S.O. #61, Hq. Military Division of the Missouri, July 25, 1877; telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, July 25, 1877; S.O. #111, Hq. Ft. Steele, July 25, 1877.

87. Chappell notes in Western Interpretive Services collection.

88. S.O. #141, Hq. Ft. Steele, Sept. 23, 1877.

89. Telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, December 4, 1877; S.O. #152, Hq. Ft. Steele, December 5, 1877.

90. Ltr. Major W. E. Thomas to Mr. C. F. Perkins, Dec. 8, 1877.

Indian affairs. In a number of cases, they severely criticized existing Indian Bureau policies and activities. Almost uniformly they castigated the army for its Indian fighting activities. And steadily they built up pressure for a more direct role in Indian affairs. As a result of this during those two decades, a number of representatives of what were essentially missionary groups were appointed as Indian agents to various tribes. This was the case at the Ute Agency with the "Reverend Mr. Danforth" and with his successor, Nathan Meeker.

Now we believe that history holds abundant examples of the fact that one of the most destructive forces in human affairs is an idealistic man of vision suddenly possessed of power over the lives of others. The Utes are a case in point. While on the sidelines, men like Meeker had made a number of useful and practical criticisms of individual aspects of Indian relations. Once in direct charge, and faced with the practical business of dealing with an alien and primitive culture, these godly Indian-lovers found their religion inadequate to the task, and turned more and more toward forced-acculturation in their efforts to make the Indian into a shirt-and-trousers, short-haired, go-to-church-on-Sunday, quarter-section farmer. But they were dealing with men of pride and courage to whom warfare was an essential part of living. A challenge to such an approach was almost inevitable at nearly all the western reservations; and when it came, the men of ideals had to call on the army to back them up. The crisis conditions built up steadily at the Ute agencies in western Colorado through 1878 and 1879.<sup>91</sup>

In September of 1878, the garrison at Fort Steele furnished the transportation and escort for a group of special commissioners sent to the Ute Agency to negotiate with the tribe.<sup>92</sup>

Suddenly, trouble arose from another quarter. The Northern Cheyennes, confined for nearly a year at a reservation in Indian Territory, broke away and raced northward in an epic attempt to reach the country they knew and loved in the north. They raided a number of ranches on their way across Kansas, and the army was ordered to intercept them.<sup>93</sup> Troops from Fort Steele, Fort Sanders, Fort D. A. Russell, and Sidney Barracks were all involved in their pursuit and attempted interception. Major Thomas Thornburg, the commanding officer at Fort Steele at the time, led one of

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91. Rockwell Wilson, *The Utes, A Forgotten People*, (Denver: Sage Books, 1956); *Record of Engagements*, p. 88-92.

92. Telegrams, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, September 11 and 12, 1878; S.O. #92, Hq. Ft. Steele, September 12, 1878.

93. See: George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915); Mari Sandoz, *Cheyenne Autumn*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953) is a popular account of this trek.

the pursuing columns in western Nebraska. On October 2, they had a sharp fight, losing five men.<sup>94</sup>

Little more than a month after the pursuit of the Cheyennes, 300 miles away in western Nebraska, troops from Fort Steele were asked by the new Ute Agent, Nathan C. Meeker, for assistance in locating a band of Utes believed to have left the reservation and gone to the Sweetwater country.<sup>95</sup>

Company E, 3rd Cavalry, was still a part of the Fort Steele garrison, though it remained camped near Camp Sheridan, Nebraska, for several months. In January of 1879, the Cheyennes broke out of confinement at Fort Robinson, and these Fort Steele troops participated in their pursuit and in combat with them in the period January 12 to 22, 1879.<sup>96</sup>

During the spring of 1879, Captain Lawson took Company E, 3rd Cavalry, on a scout through the Wind River Mountains.<sup>97</sup>

Agent Meeker did not get on well with Ute charges. In March, he requested that the troops at Fort Steele be used to force wandering Utes to come back to the reservation.<sup>98</sup> He made repeated accusations that these wandering bands of Utes were committing depredations such as starting forest fires, raiding ranches, and the like.<sup>99</sup> The army did not agree with the truth of these statements, and Thornburg said so in a number of his communications. Finally on July 27, 1879, he wrote:

I made inquiries and could not find such a state of affairs to exist, but did find that the Indians had killed a great deal of game and used the skins for trade. The miners they visited in this section were not molested, but on the contrary were presented with an abundance of game. No stock has been molested, and as far as I can learn, no one attributes the burning of timber to these Indians.<sup>100</sup>

He forwarded letters received from "nearly every ranchman within a hundred miles of this post" in support of his statements.

Conditions at the Agency itself grew steadily worse that summer. On September 14, Meeker appealed directly for help at the Agency itself. Thornburg checked with Department of the Platte headquarters, and on September 16, received orders to proceed to the agency to protect the government employees and property. Secur-

94. Telegram, Bourke to C.O. Ft. Steele, September 25, 1878; telegram, Bourke to C.O. Ft. Steele, October 2, 1878; telegram, Thornburg to Bisbee, October 3, 1878; telegram, Bourke to C.O. Ft. Steele, October 2, 1878; telegram, Bourke to Lt. Keeffe, October 4, 1878; telegram, C.O. Cp. Robinson to C.O. Ft. Steele, October 11, 1878; *Record of Engagements*, p. 81.

95. Endorsement of Nov. 25, 1878, fwd. Meeker's letter of Nov. 11, 1878.

96. Post Return, Ft. Steele, January, 1879.

97. S.O. #30, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, May 15, 1879; report of Captain Lawson, June 6, 1879.

98. Ltr. Meeker to Thornburg, March 17, 1879.

99. Ltr. Meeker to Thornburg, July 7, 1879.

100. Ltr. Thornburg to AGDP, July 27, 1879.

ing additional men from Fort D. A. Russell by rail, Thornburg set out on September 21.<sup>101</sup>

While Thornburg was enroute, the Utes killed Meeker, and some other employees, captured most of the other civilians at the agency, and marched to meet Thornburg's command. The two forces met late on the morning of September 29 at Milk River. The Utes opened fire on the Thornburg column, and a general fight ensued. Thornburg and nine enlisted men were killed, and the force surrounded and pinned down. Civilian guide Joe Rankin (later a famed U. S. marshal for Wyoming) slipped through the Ute lines at night and rode all the way to Rawlins, where he telegraphed the news of the fight.

Colonel Wesley Merritt at Fort D. A. Russell quickly assembled a force of over 2000 men by railroad and brought them to Rawlins, where he left somewhat more than 500 as a reserve to guard the settlements in his rear, and marched south with the remaining 1400 to relieve the besieged column. Merritt's force had several fights with the Utes, who then agreed to negotiate for the release of the captives.<sup>102</sup>

The close of the Ute Uprising brought the beginning of quiet and stable years at Fort Fred Steele, but not without one final Indian scare that called out troops from the post. In the spring of 1880, a settler in North Park, Colorado, reported seeing a band of hostile Indians. The story grew as messengers carried it from settlement to settlement, and ultimately to Fort Sanders. Troops from that post and Fort Fred Steele assembled at Laramie and marched off into North Park, to discover that rumors, confusion, and exaggeration had substituted for wandering Indians in this instance, and the whole expedition was picked up on the records as a "field exercise" or "practice march", charge to training!<sup>103</sup>

Fort Steele served as a base for continued surveillance of the Ute country until a new post, Fort Duchesne, could be built near the Ute Agency.

Late in the summer of 1885, white coal miners of a variety of recently emigrated ethnic groups attacked the Chinese miners of the settlement of Rock Springs, Wyoming, killing 26 and driving

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101. Telegram, Thornburg to AGDP, September 14, 1879; telegram, Thornburg to AGDP, September 19, 1879; telegram, Thornburg to AGDP, September 21, 1879; Fort Steele Post Return, September 1879.

102. *Record of Engagements*, p. 90-92; also: William Owen manuscript "Joe Rankin's Ride" in Carbon County Library, Rawlins, Wyoming, and Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department; L. D. Greene manuscript in Order of Indian Wars Veterans files, Army War College Library, Carlisle Barracks, Penn.

103. S.O. #65, Hq. Ft. Steele, May 29, 1880, and extensive correspondence in the Fort Sanders and Fort D. A. Russell records in RG98, NARS.

the rest out of town, and substantially destroyed the Chinese quarter. On September 4, troops from Fort Fred Steele moved by rail to Rock Springs to protect federal and railroad property. The situation proved sufficiently tense that a sizeable force of soldiers remained there, establishing Camp Pilot Butte.<sup>104</sup>

With this new post, and the posts in the Ute country, there was less need for troops at Fort Fred Steele, and in the summer of 1886 came the decision to abandon this post.

In summary, we must say that the operations at Fort Steele, in substance, equal or exceed those that were based on most posts in Wyoming and in the region. In terms of operations and functions, it was a very typical and representative post, providing more than the usual amount of active field service for its troops due to the ease of transportation afforded by the railroad and the facility of communication afforded by the telegraph.

### III. STRUCTURAL HISTORY OF FORT FRED STEELE

#### Introduction

Study of basic structural history seems to us quite important to the effective understanding of other aspects of the history of a particular site. This is true if we are discussing a site in which we need to be able to visualize the physical setting of events, and equally true of a site such as Fort Fred Steele, where there may yet be an opportunity to preserve the physical setting of a broad range of historic events.

Despite this importance to either actual or imaginary visual reconstruction of the historic scene, it is often neglected by even the most competent historians with the result that the general public, along with large numbers of more serious readers of history, continues to harbor a number of misconceptions and stereotypes when they think of given types of historic sites. In order to break away from these misconceptions about army posts in the west, the reader should endeavor to understand something of the context and the processes of design and construction as carried on by the army in the West.

During the second half of the 19th century, construction at military posts (other than coastal fortifications, arsenals, and certain other special cases) was the responsibility of the Quartermaster General's Department. During the Fort Fred Steele period, this function was exercised through a chain of staff officers extending down through each successive command level. Next below the

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104. Telegram, AGDP to Chipman, September 4, 1885; S. O. #116, Hq. Ft. Steele, September 4, 1885; telegram, Chipman to AGDP, November 18, 1885; telegram, AGDP to C.O. Ft. Steele, November 19, 1885.

Quartermaster General's office lay the Chief Quartermaster, Military Division of the Missouri, headquartered in Chicago. Then came the Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Platte, headquartered in Omaha. And during some periods a District Quartermaster, as in 1868, at Fort Sanders. Through most of the Fort Fred Steele period, however, there was no District Quartermaster, but rather a support function consisting of Cheyenne Quartermaster Depot located adjacent to Fort D. A. Russell. Cheyenne Depot functioned as a supply point rather than a step in the staff-chain. Each of these staff-chain levels was usually headed by an officer who held a commission in the Quartermaster General's Department rather than a line commission. Their function at each level was clearly a staff function, and they did not command the next lower level of quartermaster officer except through communications approved by the commanding officer of the headquarters involved (in practice often by his adjutant, who prepared documents for the commander's signature).

At the post itself, the quartermaster function was carried out by an "Acting Assistant Quartermaster" who signed his correspondence with his name, rank, organization, and the initials "A.A.Q.M." for a title. Now the A.A.Q.M. for a given post in the West was usually a line officer detailed to this duty in addition to those that pertained to his position in a particular unit. The sheer demands of the administrative work within the scope of this assignment often meant that such an officer could not participate in much of the drills, training, and disciplinary work usually expected of a company-grade officer. Often a post commander would assign a lieutenant to this work so that a captain could remain in direct command of the company of men involved. If possible, he would select a senior first lieutenant with some experience for the work; but there was never any assurance that he had such an officer available, nor that he would not lose him via transfer at any given time. Usually the officer involved at the individual post had no special training for the work, unless he happened to also be serving in the capacity of Regimental Quartermaster, an assignment that he might carry with him from one post to another and into the field as the unit changed stations. Of course, in that event, he had a double burden of administrative paper work.

The accounting for receipts and disbursements of funds and the planning and budgeting of many expenditures were about as complex as they are today in governmental activities. The principal difference is that all accounting operations were handled manually and were hence very time consuming.

To assist with this work load, the post quartermaster ideally had from one to two or three civilian clerks who were more or less skilled in accounting, and received pay ranging from \$100 to \$150 per month, a very high figure in that period, when laborers got \$35

per month and teamsters \$45! Each post usually had also a Quartermaster Sergeant, usually an n.c.o. of considerable seniority and experience, and the most stable mainstay of the entire q.m. function at any given post. Other workers in the issue rooms and warehouses were likely to be enlisted men temporarily detailed for the purpose.

Other citizen employees of the Quartermaster Department directly involved in the construction trades would include blacksmiths, steam sawmill engineers and sawyers, carpenters, wheelwrights, stone masons, and other skilled tradesmen. Depending on their level of proficiency and their specialty, they got wages of from \$55 to \$125 per month. Sometimes they were hired and released with distressing frequency as the budget and the immediate need for their services dictated. This made it difficult to keep really good men available, though the sawmill engineer, the blacksmith, and the wheelwright all were likely to remain many months, and often many years, in the employ of a given post.

It is important to realize that planning for construction at a given post seldom drew upon the talents of an architect or an engineer. The army had certain standards for space for various functions, based on the numbers of men and animals to be served by the buildings involved. These space requirements were most stringently observed in the case of barracks and of stables, where the health of the fighting force and its transportation could suffer most directly from overcrowding and other conditons. Officer quarters always had plenty of space, but there were general levels of space and convenience assumed for given grade-level ranges.

Storage buildings were designed to house certain volumes of material based on the projected needs of the garrison involved.

To simplify the construction of army buildings in a situation where architects and engineers could not be present at every post, the army in 1868 began to issue simplified "standard plans" for barracks, officer quarters and other structures. These were simple outline plans based on space and functional requirements. They were really quite well done, but they were intended to be interpreted by the post quartermaster and his subordinates and civilian skilled workmen so as to permit maximum flexibility in the use of locally available construction materials and the skills available within the enlisted garrison, for the enlisted men of a post usually furnished the force of unskilled and semi-skilled labor that built the structures involved. Enlisted men doing semi-skilled work of the construction trades drew a substantial "extra-duty pay" allowance, and these assignments were much sought after. This did not apply during such time as men were working on barracks for themselves, as the quartermaster considered that the work was being done "by the men directly benefitted," and hence, there was no need for incentive pay!

Adding all these factors together, it becomes clear that structures of a given class at one army post are very seldom precisely like those of the same class at some other post, even for the same time period. The same general "standard plan" might be adapted to log construction at one post, stone at another, brick at another, and so on. Individual adaptations might be made in design to meet a situation of immediate import, such as housing more than the regular number of persons. There might be more or less machinery for making lumber and shingles at one place than at another, and so on.

So if one engages in structural restoration of a given building, it will require a great deal of individual study as a part of its detailed restoration planning.

At the master-plan level of planning, it seems appropriate to examine the general construction history of given classes of buildings at the post, with special emphasis placed upon those that survive and those that have special possibilities for reconstruction as a part of the over-all plan. This is what we have done for Fort Fred Steele.

\* In a normal situation, the army had a standard sequence of construction at a new post. The highest priority was for store-houses to shelter the unit's supplies. Second place went to barracks for the enlisted men of the command. Next came quarters for the officers of the command, followed by stables for the animals, and so on down in declining order of priority. Sometimes there were variations in this order of construction, but if they were major ones, they usually became a matter of critical record on the part of some inspecting officer.

In the case of Fort Fred Steele, we shall find that the general construction priority was followed, but we shall not examine the buildings in precisely that order, since we wish to group those buildings that have restoration or reconstruction potential earliest in this segment of the report for convenience in reference. The troops at Fort Fred Steele were numerous enough (about 300) by the autumn of 1868 that a number of facets of construction activity could be more or less assembly-lined, and a number of structures proceeded nearly simultaneously toward completion, though the general completion sequence met accepted practice.

We shall begin our examination of the structures by looking at the barracks, since two of them survive as both the oldest and best preserved of early structures in the whole region.

### Barracks

Major Richard I. Dodge ordered the beginnings of some lumbering activity in the spring of 1868. As we indicated in an earlier

section of this report, we believe this may have been to secure material for framing up tents for his main camps of the season.<sup>1</sup>

With the abandonment of the posts on the Bozeman Trail, some of their supplies and equipment were shipped to Fort Fred Steele. It appears that the sawmills, engines, planing mills, lath mills, and shingle machine from Fort Reno arrived at Fort Fred Steele in July.<sup>2</sup> Accompanying them came B. T. Ryan, a skilled sawmill engineer who had been drawing \$100 per month at Fort Reno. Colonel Stevenson, now in command, recommended hiring Ryan at \$125 per month to set up and operate the mills.<sup>3</sup>

We know, of course, that it took some time to get the machinery unpacked, assembled and running long enough to shelter itself, and to provide material for the temporary storehouses to shelter supplies. But it is evident that construction on the barracks must have begun in late September or very early October of 1868, for in answer to an inquiry about fire protection, Stevenson wrote: "the barracks being in an unfinished state . . ."<sup>4</sup>

The barracks were occupied by December 1, 1868,<sup>5</sup> so their construction proceeded rapidly; though on completion, they lacked many of the features that would be necessary to make them completely comfortable. The earliest description of these structures was published in 1870:

. . . They were built on stone foundations, without cellars, of pine logs, squared on three sides and set in substantial frames, the interstices filled with mortar. Each company barrack is 80 feet long by 35 feet wide, with a piazza, 10 feet in width, which extends along the entire front, with the exception of the space taken up at each end by rooms 9 feet square, which are occupied by the first sergeant and quartermaster's sergeant as offices. The interior of the building is, in one large room, warmed by two stoves with drums, and well lighted by numerous windows. The chimneys are of stone. The dormitories are calculated for 100 men each, allowing 456 cubic feet of air-space per man. Ventilation by open fireplaces through the chimneys. Double bunks are used with ordinary bedsacks and blankets.<sup>6</sup>

The statements about heating and ventilation are somewhat contradictory, as we have, at this point, no reason to believe that open fireplaces in the sense that term is usually understood were ever built here. Probably the difficulty is in our understanding of their

1. S.O. # 14, Hq. Bn. 30th Inf in camp on No. Platte R. May 6, 1868.

2. Ltr. Lt. John Scott, AAQM to Post Commander, Fort Fred Steele, July 30, 1868; Ltr., C.O. Ft. Steele to Ch.Q.M.D.P., July 30, 1868.

3. Scott to Post C.O., September 15, 1868; endorsement C.O. to Ch. Q.M.D.P., Sept. 16, 1868.

4. Ltr. Stevenson to AGDP, October 29, 1868.

5. Cir. # 4, War Department, Surgeon General's Office Dec. 5, 1870, p. 357.

6. *Ibid*, p. 357-358.

use of terminology, and we assume they mean that ventilation was furnished by the force of the stove drafts.

Kitchens and mess-halls were not yet completed at the time the above was written in 1870. The report says:

Temporary kitchens of three framed wall tents are in rear of each company barracks, and are provided with a good cook stove, and a cellar for roots. Company bakeries, of adobe, are located under the bluffs.<sup>7</sup>

Not long after the completion of the barracks, Stevenson ordered the building of sinks in the rear of the barracks line:

"6 feet wide  
14 feet long  
10 feet deep and a perfect parallelogram"<sup>8</sup>

In 1870, they were described as:

Large and well-constructed frame sinks are placed 100 feet in rear of each company quarters, each provided with two ventilators.<sup>9</sup>

Initially five barracks were built, and the documentary description varies somewhat from the commonly quoted published description above:

"Barracks finished:

5 company quarters with stone foundations, each 80 feet long by 30 feet wide, 12 ft. story, half-pitch roof. Porch 10 ft. wide, with sergeant's room at each end, size 10 x 10.<sup>10</sup>

Construction of each building had consumed 22,450 feet of pine boards and framing, and 11,000 feet of pine half-logs, as well as 60,000 shingles.<sup>11</sup>

Late in 1870, the barracks lying along the "north" (actually n.w.) line of the parade ground, at right angles to the general barracks line, was converted into a hospital under orders from Headquarters, Department of the Platte.<sup>12</sup> It subsequently served a number of other purposes, but never again served as a barracks.

There was considerable delay in getting proper kitchens for the barracks. Ultimately kitchen development went through several stages. It would appear that the barracks were served by their framed-tent kitchens described above until at least 1873, and then the work may have proceeded irregularly.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime, the original pine board flooring in the barracks

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7. *Ibid.*

8. Circular #1, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, Jan. 4, 1869.

9. Cir. #4, WD, SGO, Dec. 5, 1870, p. 358.

10. Maj. N. B. Switzer, I.G. Inspection Report, July 20, 1869.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Cir. #4, SGO, p. 359.

13. See subsequent section on hospitals.

had nearly worn out, and Colonel DeTrobriand, in the spring of 1873, requested "eastern" pine for this purpose, stating that the local pine was not fit for this kind of service.<sup>14</sup> Finally, after a great deal of correspondence, DeTrobriand obtained over \$2500 to be expended on improvements on the barracks. They did not get the eastern flooring, however, as Lieutenant Bascom, the post quartermaster made a special trip to Fort Bridger to purchase flooring material there.<sup>15</sup>

With one of the original barracks in use as a hospital in the fall of 1873, additional quarters were needed for a company of troops added to the garrison that fall. This need was met by converting the commissary storehouse south of the tracks as a temporary barracks.<sup>16</sup>

By the spring of 1875, the tent-kitchens had gone out of use, and in fact had probably been phased out late in the fall of 1873 or early in 1874 in favor of:

. . . A kitchen and mess room, 15 by 80 by 9 feet, built of rough lumber, in some cases lined with tar paper, stands in the rear of every barrack.<sup>18</sup>

These rough board kitchens served the barracks for quite some time.

Several changes appear, along with some additional descriptive material in the 1875 report. This report confirms the existence of the roof ventilators on the barracks by the spring of 1875. Considering army practices at the time, we expect these, if not built in the original construction (see statement by post surgeon, quoted above), were added at the latest in the 1873 construction season.<sup>19</sup> Ventilators are not shown in the artist's sketches of the post, but this kind of detail often gets left out. They appear in all the photographs. It is important to note that the 1875 report confirms the use of glass windows in the ventilators to provide light even when the ventilators were closed.<sup>20</sup>

The 1875 report also notes that each barracks had 12 windows, with 12 8"x12" panes of glass each.<sup>21</sup>

This same report describes the sinks as "well floored and seated, and with a window and two capped ventilators to each."<sup>22</sup>

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14. There are frequent references to the need to complete the company kitchens.

15. Ltr. DeTrobriand to Ch.Q.M.D.P. May 13, 1873.

16. Ltr. DeTrobriand to Ch.Q.M.D.P. Sept. 13, 1873.

17. *Ibid.* Ltr. DeTrobriand to AGDP, Sept. 24, 1873; ltr. DeTrobriand to AG, Mil.Div. Mo., Oct. 13, 1873.

18. Cir. # 8, WD, SGO, May 1, 1875, p. 382.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

By 1875, the "new Army-pattern single iron bedsteads" were in use in all of the barracks except that of Company A, 2nd Cavalry, which continued to use old wooden double bunks due to the large number of men in relation to the space available.<sup>23</sup>

The temporary barracks did not compare very favorably with the regular ones:

It is a rude affair, 80 by 30 by 12 feet in dimensions, one-half of it built of logs with plastered chinks, the other of boards battened. The walls of the dormitory are covered with tar-paper.

A building of rough boards, battened and painted, with a shed roof, 18 by 25 by 9 feet large, is attached to this barrack as mess and wash room. The kitchen is in the main building, a space 10 by 30 by 12 feet having been partitioned off from the dormitory.<sup>24</sup>

The regular barracks are very well illustrated at this midpoint in active military operations in the region, by a photograph that shows them reasonably close-up. This photograph, previously identified as "about 1884" we can date with some accuracy. It probably was taken in the late spring or early summer of 1877. The date is based on the fact that in the foreground of the photo lies the massive main mast of the new flagstaff, ready for installation in its step in front of the bandstand. This staff was prepared and installed in May and June of 1877 (see section on flagstaff).

In this photo, the buildings have a "plastered" look about them. We find that "In November, 1873, the quarters were coated with a drab-colored wash made from a kind of cement found in the neighborhood of the post."<sup>25</sup>

Early in 1876, the post commander reported:

But slight changes have been made since last report, with exception of the infantry barracks, which have been lathed and plastered and are quite comfortable.<sup>26</sup>

The same letter goes on to criticize and in the process to describe the kitchens that had been added several years earlier:

The kitchens and dining rooms, being built in rear of the main buildings and against and running parallel with them are decided objectionable, as they both obstruct sunlight and proper ventilation, besides impregnating the barracks rooms with steam and odor from the kitchens.<sup>27</sup>

The barracks, however, received only limited attention for the next few years. The floors were wearing thin, but only the exterior

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23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, p. 383.

26. Ltr. Gordon to AGDP, January 4, 1876.

27. *Ibid.*

received significant treatment in 1878, when they were "re-daubed and white-washed."<sup>28</sup>

In 1879, the Company commander of Co. I, 3rd Cavalry, requisitioned 200 feet of shelving lumber for the storeroom of his company's barracks.<sup>29</sup>

A report of January, 1880, describes the barracks as having walls "covered well with tar-paper"<sup>30</sup>, which we take to mean some of the inside walls, since some of this tar paper remains in certain areas, covered by later remodeling efforts, as in the first sergeant's room of the one still preserving that room.

Correspondence in 1880 and 1881 reiterates the condition of the lean-to kitchens and the rapid wearing of the floors.<sup>31</sup> These complaints were repeated all through 1882, and at one point estimates were prepared for a new two-story barracks to house 200 men; but this was never carried beyond the cost estimate stage.<sup>32</sup>

First Lieutenant William Quinton of the 7th Infantry, serving as post quartermaster, laid the groundwork for the final improvements of the barracks in April of 1883. He suggested that framing be placed over the logs and siding placed over the framing to provide a weather tight surface.<sup>33</sup> He also suggested replacing the existing kitchens with new ones. Both these suggestions were accomplished that fall and winter.<sup>34</sup> The new kitchens were still built out from the back east side or end of each barracks, on a "stone foundation and good frame buildings."<sup>35</sup>

At the annual inspection in September of 1884, it was noted that:

The barracks are sufficient in capacity and in good condition, except that they all need new floors badly; they have all been weatherboarded and painted since the last annual inspection.<sup>36</sup>

In June of 1892, the four remaining barracks were sold at auction along with the other buildings. Three of them were bought by Mr. E. D. Worthy and one by Cosgriff Brothers, at \$50 each. The northernmost and southernmost of these barracks were no longer standing in 1901 when the Fireman's Fund Insurance Com-

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28. Ltr. Thomas to Ch.Q.M.D.P.

29. Ltr. Wm. D. Beach to Post Q.M., Dec. 5, 1879.

30. Ltr. S. A. Wolf to Ch. Engr. DP, Jan. 8, 1880.

31. Ltr. Maj. A. W. Evans, inspection report for Fort Fred Steele, Sept. 2 and 3, 1880, RG 159, Inspector General's records; Medical History file, Dec. 1880; ltr. Evans, insp. report 12-15 Sept. 1881, RG159 NARS.

32. Estimates by M. S. LeMoine, Architect, in letters received, by the QMG, RG92, NARS, 1882.

33. Lt. Wm. Quinton, annual report of inspection of public buildings, April 19, 1883.

34. I.G. Inspection Report, Lt. Col. Edwin Mason, Oct. 13, 1883, RG159, NARS.

35. Medical History file, August, 1883.

36. Inspection Report, Lt. Col. H. L. Chipman, 7th Inf. Sept. 4, 1884 RG92, NARS.



Photo by Cozort, Wyoming Studio, Rawlins

#### ORDNANCE MAGAZINE AT FORT STEELE

Built in 1881, this magazine is one of two constructed at the post and it is the only one which has survived. The first magazine was a dugout, 18 x 20 feet, with a sloping dirt roof.

pany investigator mapped the site. Only the two central barracks remained then, and both of these structures still stand today.

Over the years, a number of modifications were made to adapt the surviving barracks to various uses. (See section on the post-military history of the Fort Steele area).

The basic central structure of each remains, however, with few alterations. The south barracks appears to retain its kitchen, while the north one retains the main structure of its porch. Both are among the oldest and best preserved soldier barracks in the entire west, and deserve to be preserved and restored and interpreted. We shall examine the requisites for this in a later portion of our reports.

#### Magazine

We shall discuss the magazine next, since the second of two magazines built at the post survives today in very good condition, and it is one of the most attractive structures of this type surviving in the West.

The function of the magazine at a military post is primarily that of providing storage for artillery ammunition, components for loading artillery ammunition, quantity storage of small-arms ammunition, and other explosive and combustible materials such as

powder, fuse, signaling fireworks and the materials for their manufacture.<sup>37</sup>

Where possible, a magazine was located at a distance from the main concentration of buildings that might be easily damaged by fire or explosion, or in such a location that intervening terrain would provide some protection.<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to some of the other categories of structures, Fort Steele had but two successive magazines. One of these is shown on the early post plans. It is described as "an excavation 18 by 20 feet, with a sloping dirt roof."<sup>39</sup> In other words, a dugout. Such a structure was far from ideal for the purpose, and it is surprising that a better magazine was not built earlier than it was. We can only conclude that improvements in the many other structures were regarded as more critical. Artillery pieces were few in number and only modest quantities of ammunition were kept at hand at a post just overnight from an ordnance depot.<sup>40</sup> Fort Fred Steele generally had only a single mountain howitzer, and sometimes a Gatling gun at hand.<sup>41</sup>

The story of the surviving magazine at Fort Fred Steele begins with an inquiry from the Department of the Platte about repairs for the old magazine.<sup>42</sup> Post Commander Captain William H. Bisbee, 4th Infantry, asked Lieutenant Frank Heath of Cheyenne Ordnance Depot if there were plans or bills of material for approved magazines available.<sup>43</sup> Based on his correspondence with Heath, he supplied a bill of materials for a stone magazine similar to one constructed earlier at Fort D. A. Russell.<sup>44</sup>

Plans went forward fairly rapidly. By the first of December, 1880, the magazine door, and the iron work for the structure had been fabricated in the shops at Department of the Platte Headquarters in Omaha.<sup>45</sup> Lumber for the structure was shipped from Omaha in late March or in April of 1881.<sup>46</sup> Stone work was under way by early May.<sup>47</sup>

In a fiscal-year report on July 1, 1881, the post quartermaster stated:

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37. *Ordnance Manual*, GPO, 1861.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Cir. # 8, WD SGO, May 1875.

40. Cheyenne Depot is also an Ordnance Depot in this period.

41. *Outline Description of Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri*, Chicago, 1876.

42. Ltr. AGDP to Bisbee, Dec. 20, 1879.

43. Ltr. Bisbee to Heath, Dec. 26, 1879.

44. Ltr. Bisbee to AGDP, Febr. 9, 1880.

45. Ltr. Ch. Q.M.D.P to C.O. Ft. Steele, Dec. 1, 1880.

46. Ltr. Beach to Ch.Q.M.D.P. March 22, 1881.

47. S.O. # 50, Hq. Ft. Fred Steele, May 5, 1881.

"There is only one building constructed during the fiscal year, viz: an Ordnance magazine at the aggregate cost of \$500."<sup>48</sup>

There were no modifications recorded to this building during the remaining years the army spent at Fort Fred Steele.

At the sale of buildings in June of 1882, it was sold to one F. Hess for \$5.00.<sup>49</sup> It suffered less over the years than other structures. On several occasions contractors used it for explosives storage, and in relatively recent years, it has served as a granary. Someone replaced its original tin roof with shingles, but the internal structure remains much the same but for the removal of shelving.

### The Bridge Tender's House

We should like at this point to intersperse one non-military structure, because it is within the group of surviving historic structures at Fort Fred Steele. This is the U. P. Railroad bridge tender's house.

We have uncovered very little documentary history on this structure. Because of its ownership by the railroad, the men involved in making army plans of the post usually just penned in a convenient rectangle and so labeled it.

The house is a neat little "salt box" structure of one-and-a-half stories. We discovered in examining all of the photos made in the military period at Fort Steele that this structure shows in its present location in a number of them back to the 1870's. The army ground plans of the post back to 1870 show the building.

Since both the first and the second U. P. timber bridges crossed the river at approximately the same point (side by side, one a good deal lower at the east end than the other) this house was quite "close to work" for the bridge tender involved. We believe the house probably dates from not later than sometime in 1870, more probably from 1869, when the first station and other buildings were built in permanent form here.

The structure has remained in use in recent years, and is quite restorable.

### The Quartermaster Buildings

Over the years the largest number of structures at the post were used to house various functions of the quartermaster department. This is not surprising, since all transportation, all construction, and most supply functions channeled through this department. Again, we would like to take one particular structure out of sequence

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48. Ltr. Loving to QMG, U.S.A., July 1, 1881.

49. Report of sale of buildings, Abandoned Military Reservations File, Ft. Fred Steele, (Dept. Interior Records) NARS.

simply because it survives, and discuss it first for convenience of the reader with limited time. This is the stone "corral".

#### The Stone Corral

The use of the term for this structure is as confusing in army correspondence as it is to the modern-day viewer. Upon careful examination of the correspondence, we can only conclude that the confusion is to a degree deliberate. It may be a bit of semantic exercise in the interest of getting more use out of the appropriations available, and this is a practice as old as armies, we are sure. As we will see below, the army had a sequence of corrals and stables at the post. Some of these served the animals that were a part of Quartermaster Department transportation. The QMD also had a number of various workshops, housed in an assortment of buildings. The story of the new "corral" really starts in the fall of 1873 when Colonel Luther P. Bradley reports:

. . . The corral at this post, where all the transportation is kept, is very unsafe. A part of the roof of the stables has lately fallen in . . .<sup>50</sup>

In June of 1874, Bradley forwarded estimates of construction materials for new buildings needed at the post and included a "Quartermaster corral."<sup>51</sup> Asked to justify some of his requests, Bradley replied in part:

. . . The Quartermaster's corral is unserviceable and unless a new corral is built, or very considerable repairs put upon the old one, the public animals will not have proper shelter next winter, if the cavalry stable is occupied.<sup>52</sup>

During the fall of 1875, "A considerable amount of stone has been hauled for the new corral."<sup>53</sup> Hauling of stone was suspended due to bad weather in January of 1876, but resumed as the weather improved.<sup>54</sup> Department of the Platte supplied \$805 worth of building materials to supplement those available at the post for the corral,<sup>55</sup> and the structure was evidently complete by the fall of 1876.

When completed, the enclosure consisted of a stone wall, with buildings lining three interior sides. The northeast side held a small stable 30x50 feet and a blacksmith shop, of the same dimensions. The northwest side contained a three-room carpenter shop, and the south end of the southwest side a wagon-shed.<sup>56</sup>

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50. Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, Oct. 28, 1873.

51. Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, June 18, 1874.

52. Ltr. Bradley to AGDP, Sept. 5, 1874.

53. Ltr. Dewees to AGDP, Nov. 5, 1875.

54. Ltr. Gordon to AGDP, Jan. 4, 1876.

55. Endorsements, Ch.Q.M.D.P. to Omaha Depot, March 18, 1876, et seq.

56. Ground plans and inspection reports.

The structure is always referred to as "the corral" but all evidence is that quartermaster stock was kept in one of the nearby stables that had earlier served as a cavalry stable.

If stock was kept in the stable portion of this structure, we can envision it largely as a place for those waiting to be shod, those drawing wagons in and out for repair and the like. Primarily, the corral served to shelter in a convenient grouping a set of workshops that were all doing closely interrelated work on a number of projects, particularly those concerned with transportation.

#### Other Quartermaster Corrals, Stables and Cavalry Stables

During 1868, there appear to have been very few government horses and mules at the post. Colonel Stevenson's men built a temporary stable "of slabs and covered with earth,"<sup>57</sup> to shelter these.

At some point in 1869, a corral (probably also of slabs) with a shed running around its interior was built at the northwest extremity of the post. This lay on the low ground to the northwest of the later stone corral. It was 250 feet square. This structure is shown on an Anton Schonborn 1869 drawing, and placed accurately on the 1870 ground plan. Careful examination of aerial photographs reveals a rectangular area of vegetation change and soil disturbance such as one would expect to find on such a site.

This "old corral" was vacated by the end of December, 1874, and replaced temporarily by a smaller one made of slabs salvaged from the old sawmill.<sup>58</sup>

There appear to have been no cavalry stables at the post until very late 1870 or early 1871. Company A, 2nd Cavalry, began cutting logs for this purpose in the summer of 1870, but the stable had not been completed by November. This work must have been accomplished by not long after, however. The finished stable was a frame structure, 35x200 feet.<sup>59</sup> An 1875 report described them thus:

. . . They measure 100 by 35 by 18 feet; are constructed of sawed pine logs, battened on the side, with ends of battened pine boards. The roof is shingled and has two ridge ventilators. There are forty-eight stalls, each divided by a swinging bar, accommodating ninety-six horses. The stable is situated in the bottom under the bluff, and its refuse matter carted away and dumped into the river.<sup>60</sup>

At some point before 1880, a new cavalry stable was built. This was a frame building 28x200x10 (to the eaves). It is shown on a

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57. Ltr. Stevenson to AGDP, Oct. 29, 1868.

58. Ltr. Dewees to AGDP, Dec. 30, 1874.

59. Ltr. DeTrobriand to AG, Mil. Div. Mo., Oct. 13, 1873.

60. Cir. #8, WD SGO, May 1, 1875, p. 383-384.

later plan.<sup>61</sup> These two stables served through the remainder of the life of the post.

The older stable sold at the auction in 1892 at \$5.00, and the better one for \$15.<sup>62</sup> Both were probably quickly demolished for their salvage value as usually happened with these large structures.

#### Sawmills

These installations were basic to most construction operations at Fort Steele, for only a small amount of lumber was shipped in from other points, the one lot of lumber for the magazine, and one lot of flooring for the barracks, mentioned above.

As we also indicated above, sawmill operations started in the summer of 1868, with the mills and accessories brought in from Fort Reno. These were first located on the river bank, about one-half mile s.s.e. of the main part of the post. This is on the low ground in the eastward swinging bend of the river now called the Pacheco land. This was a convenient point at which to land logs floated down from the Encampment area, where much of the early army logging was done. Aerial photos show evidence of ground disturbance over a rectangular area, with one corner not far from the river bank. Military reservation maps agree with this as the location of a quadrangle of quartermaster buildings that included the mills themselves, a wheelwright shop, storage shed quarters for the extra-duty men, quarters for the wheelwright, and a blacksmith shop and coal shed. At virtually all the other posts we have studied, the sawmill structures and those in the immediate sawmill complex were usually hastily thrown together of posts and slabs.

This outlying complex was abandoned in the spring of 1871, and the sawmill

removed to the high ground, and much nearer the post, the removal being absolutely necessary as the river was rapidly cutting away the bank on which the mill formerly stood.<sup>63</sup>

It appears from ground plans that only one mill was set up at this new location, about 500 feet upstream from the bridge tender's house. The other engine was probably the one located in a new structure on the bluff immediately behind the guardhouse and used to pump water from the river. Part of the sawmill shed burned in 1882 and was replaced with similar construction.

#### Blacksmith Shops

In addition to the blacksmith shop that was built in 1876 as a part of the stone corral complex, there were several earlier struc-

61. Wolf to Ch. Engr. DP, Jan. 8, 1880.

62. Reports on sales of bldgs, *op. cit* (see 49 above)

63. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, May 21, 1871.

tures to fulfill this important function. One of these as mentioned immediately above was associated with the 1868-1871 sawmill complex on the river bottom to the s.s.e. of the post. A second one was located near the second sawmill site immediately south of the post, and of course, the third was located in the stone corral.

#### Carpenter's Shops

One of these, 21x60 feet, was located immediately south of the main quartermaster storehouse complex on the early ground plan. This structure, along with an adjacent granary was destroyed along with all its contents in a fire on the evening of August 14, 1872.<sup>64</sup>

A new carpenter shop was built some distance southwest of the new sawmill site. This was a frame structure of pine lumber, 60x20x10 feet.<sup>65</sup> This structure still stood at as late as 1880, but is marked on that year's plan as "unoccupied."

#### Quartermaster Storehouses and Offices

The focal point of most quartermaster activity once the main construction at the post was completed was the quartermaster storehouse, the issue office, and the quartermaster offices. Since the bulk of Fort Fred Steele supplies came in by rail, the main QM complex was located along a railway siding, south of the mainline trackage. Two large buildings served as storehouses. These were large board-and-batten structures of rough lumber. One of them was 130x30x12 feet, the other 100x30x12 feet. They formed two sides of a rectangle that was completed by fencing and used as a storage yard.<sup>66</sup>

Nearby stood the granary (the first one destroyed in 1872, a replacement built soon after 50x20x10), a large coal house 100x30x10, and an assortment of other smaller structures at various times.<sup>67</sup>

#### Commissary Structures

The Commissary of Subsistence Department was organized along similar staff-section lines to that described above for the Quartermaster Department. The role of the Commissary Department was the supply of the issue ration items to the company kitchens and mess rooms, the operation of the post bakery, and the sale of ration items and a limited list of other food products and related items to commissioned officers, enlisted personnel and citizen employees.

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64. Lt. H. V. Pratt to AGDP, August 15, 1872; S.O. #92, Hq. Ft. Steele, August 15, 1872.

65. Cir. #8, WD SGO, May 1, 1875, p. 383.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*, and ground plan sequence.

Through most of the history of Fort Fred Steele, the Commissary Department (administered by a detailed officer, the "Acting Assistant Commissary of Subsistence", AAC) was located in a large warehouse building located immediately east of the quartermaster complex, near the rail siding. This structure housed both the storage and the issue offices, until expansion of the garrison in 1874 brought about its conversion for one winter into a barracks. During the year the building was so used; the Commissary Department occupied a partitioned off, floored and lathed and plastered segment of the QMD storehouse to the west of it. Subsequently it moved back into the storehouse. Attached to the south side of the east end of the building was a lean-to that housed the butcher shop, where fresh beef (delivered to the post on the hoof and butchered here) was issued to the company cooks and sold to qualified purchasers.<sup>68</sup>

We should note that the commissary of subsistence usually maintained a sizeable storage cellar for potatoes, onions, carrots, and the like. These are not shown on the plans, but ground disturbances near the site of the warehouse may be the remnants of such cellars.

### Water Supply

Throughout the life of the post, water was obtained from the river and distributed to the post daily by a water wagon. Until 1871, this was evidently done with a hand pump. In that year when the sawmills were relocated, one of the engines was placed in a new shed behind the guardhouse. Here it pumped water when needed to fill the water wagon. It also stood by as a water pump in case of fire. In 1872, a two inch water line was laid from this pumping station out across the parade as shown on the plan, and under the tracks to the area of the quartermaster complex.<sup>69</sup> This line was instrumental in saving the warehouses in the 1872 fire that destroyed the blacksmith shop and granary.<sup>70</sup> The small diameter pipe soon rusted or became clogged and was replaced with a four-inch line. The four-inch line extended only to hydrants near the quarters lines at opposite sides of the parade.<sup>71</sup>

The engine driving the water pump had one other use and that was driving a small circular saw to cut kindling wood.<sup>72</sup>

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68. Cir. #8, op. cit. and inspection reports.

69. Cir. #4, 1870, SGO; ground plans.

70. Ltr. Pratt to AGDP, August 15, 1872.

71. Later ground plans.

72. Cir. #8 WD SGO, 1875.

### Bakery

As we noted in connection with the discussion of the barracks, above, at first the companies stationed at the post drew their flour ration and baked their bread in ovens dug out in the banks of the bluff nearby.<sup>73</sup>

By late 1870, however, a post bakery 20x40x10 feet, of rough lumber, with brick ovens, had been built near the commissary storehouse.<sup>74</sup> It was damaged, but not beyond repair, by one of the fires in 1872.<sup>75</sup> Apparently this bakery served for the life of the post.

We should take a moment at this point to comment on the mode of business operation of an army bakery. The army ration set by Congress provided for the allowance of a specified weight of bread or the same weight of flour to each man. In the field, the troops carried "hard bread", but in garrison it became the practice for each post to have a bakery. Since a pound of bread requires appreciably less than a pound of flour, the flour issue for each company was posted on the books to the bakery. The company cooks then drew an issue of bread of equal weight. The surplus of flour was then baked into various bakery goods and sold to officers and to citizens. The office of the commissary of subsistence took their money and issued a written order for the desired items which they turned in at the bakery. The cash profits after the purchase of other necessary ingredients went into the post fund, from which recreational equipment, library materials and other items of benefit to all the men of the garrison or of a particular company were purchased.

We should note here that Fort Laramie National Historic Site has recently completed the restoration of a fully functional 1870s bakery.

### Officer Quarters

Officers of the Fort Fred Steele garrison remained quartered in wall tents until early February of 1870.<sup>76</sup> During these early months at the post, officer quarters were built following the substantial enclosure of higher priority structures. The availability of good building stone and of good sawmills and other milling equipment meant that Fort Fred Steele had quarters which were much better than many posts of the period, and the equal of most, anywhere in the army.

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73. Cir. #2, WD SGO, 1870.

74. Cir. #4, WD SGO, 1870.

75. DeTrobriand to AGDP, report on fires in 1872.

76. (Post) Cir. #8, Hq. Ft. Steele, Febr. 2, 1869.

The quarters consisted of one large single quarter so superior in space and design that it was designated as the "Post Commander's Quarters" and in early correspondence as "Post Headquarters." It stood at the center of the quarters line. It was described as:

. . . a stone building one and a half stories high, with an additional frame building in the rear. The dimensions of the main part are 44 by 36 feet, containing eight rooms; the back building contains three rooms, and is 28 by 25 feet.<sup>77</sup>

Four other houses were what we would call "duplexes" today, which were called "double-quarters" at that time.

Each is 44 by 34 feet, and is divided into two halls, with rooms on each side.

This same 1875 report elaborates:

In general, these houses are superior in style, plan, and finish, and are all lathed and plastered. Some have small cellars under the kitchens, and all possess good-sized enclosed yards in rear. During 1873, their walls were for the most part kalsomined by enlisted men. Each set is intended to accommodate a captain and two lieutenants.<sup>78</sup>

Now this same surgeon general's office publication stirs up what at this point is a complete mystery. It makes reference to a building essentially the same as the other double quarters, located to the east of the southernmost duplex otherwise mentioned, and to the west of the adjutant's office. It says this building was used as a headquarters for a time, and refers to this structure being replaced as a headquarters by the adjutant's office.<sup>79</sup>

Such a building is shown on the 1870 ground plan, but is not shown on the later ground plans. Neither the photos of the post during army days, nor modern aerial photos disclose evidence of a building on this site. We are inclined to dismiss it as a "never-built" that hung around from the 1870 ground plan to confuse everyone. Solution to this problem must be an archeological one, since the record makes no mention of any destruction or demolition of a building on this particular site.

#### Adjutant's Office

Functional headquarters of the post through which the chains of command funneled all communication was the adjutant's office. This was a simple one-story building which could have been converted to a set of quarters if the need arose. It was another board-

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77. Cir. # 8, WD SGO, May 1, 1875, p. 383.

78. Cir. # 8, WD SGO, May 1, 1875, P. 383.

79. *Ibid.*

and-batten structure of rough pine lumber, 36x28x10, "lathed and plastered, containing five rooms, for necessary offices."<sup>80</sup>

Ultimately the officer's quarters, and the adjutant's office acquired fences around their back yards, to enclose the outhouses, the coal sheds, wood sheds, and other odds and ends of informally built storage structures that grew up over the years. Descriptive material in the files concerning the abandonment of the post indicates that by 1886 most of the officer quarters had boardwalks and covered ways connecting the kitchen wing of each quarters with its latrine, doubtless a great wintertime convenience at a place like Fort Steele!

#### Laundress Quarters (Married Enlisted Men's Quarters)

For most of the period Fort Fred Steele was occupied by the army, each company of soldiers was allowed several women to do the laundry for the men. Each was provided housing, rations for herself and her children, and authorized to collect at the pay table an amount fixed by the post council of administration. Sometimes this was a flat rate per man and sometimes a charge per piece or volume of clothing. These women also did laundry for the families of the officers of their company at a piece rate. In practice, those who arrived at a post without a husband in tow soon acquired one, regardless of age or infirmities.<sup>82</sup> Frequently, they married a man not otherwise entitled to family quarters, and through their combined efforts brought home a fair income. They did not usually occupy very plush quarters, however. Anton Schonborn, in his 1869 sketch, shows the laundress quarters as wall tents scattered over the low ground northeast of the post. In the spring of 1871, Colonel A. G. Brackett wrote, "The laundresses live in tents . . ."<sup>83</sup>

Two years later, some of them were quartered in the row houses that had been built east and northeast of the barracks. There were ultimately five houses in one row and four in the other. Each was a frame structure with shingle roof. Each set of quarters was a two-room lathe-and-plaster finished apartment.<sup>84</sup>

When the post was at peak strength in the mid-seventies, some laundresses were still living in tents.<sup>85</sup> The small four-unit laundress quarters burned on the afternoon of April 9, 1886; and these

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80. *Ibid.*

81. Fragmental report in the Abandoned Military Reservations file, Interior Department records, NARS.

82. Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

83. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, May 21, 1871.

84. Cir. #8, WD SGO, p. 382.

85. *Ibid.*

were not replaced before the post was abandoned.<sup>86</sup> The number of laundresses had evidently declined by this time for it was reported:

The building was occupied by company tailors and shoemakers and one woman who was doing washing for the different companies.<sup>87</sup>

Of the n.c.o.'s at the post, only the commissary sergeant had special quarters assigned. This was a house at the southwest corner of the built-up area of the post; it was a frame structure (probably board-and-batten) of modest size, with fenced yard.<sup>88</sup>

### Civilian Employee Quarters

We have already noted the wheelwright's quarters that once stood in the sawmill quadrangle one-half mile s.s.e. of the post. Most of the time the teamsters, skilled laborers and other men employed by the quartermaster at these western posts were single men, particularly in the early years. This was not always so, of course. There is less good documentation on the nature of quarters for these employees than for other personnel. Generally there were two or three sets of quarters so occupied. The best of these are described in the 1875 report:

Besides these there are the quarters for the civilian employees at the post. These are three in number; No. 1, built of rough pine lumber, 50x20x9 feet in extent; No. 2, of pine slabs, 25x30x10 feet; and No. 3, of split pine logs, 24x14x10 feet. All of these are lathed, plastered, and have shingled roofs, and two have inclosed yards in rear. There is a separate mess-house attached to these buildings 30 by 20 by 10 feet large. It is built of rough pine lumber, and has an inclosed yard.<sup>89</sup>

### Guardhouse

The guardhouse was another of the focal points of army activity at the post. More than just a place of confinement for those awaiting trial or under sentence, it contained the office of the officer of the guard, the place where members of a given guard rested when not on post, and served as the storage place for tools used for certain prisoner work details and some other kinds of fatigue details.

For many years, Fort Fred Steele had a very poor guardhouse, and even at peak of development, it was marginal compared to those at many posts.

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86. Ltr. Chipman to AGDP, April 10, 1872.

87. *Ibid.*

88. Cir. 8, WD SGO.

89. Cir. #8, WD SGO, May 1, 1875.

A publication of the Surgeon General's office in 1870 said of this building:

The guardhouse is located between the barracks and the edge of the bluff, and consists of a log house, 19 by 16 feet, without windows, and covered with shingle roof. It is warmed by stoves.<sup>90</sup>

Some of this description seems anticipatory at least and certainly deceptive! For on May 21, 1871, Colonel Brackett wrote:

There seems to be an absolute necessity for the erection of a new guard house as the one now in use is a most shabby affair with a canvas roof which is altogether unsafe.<sup>91</sup>

The Inspector General's office the next year describes it simply as "built of wood."<sup>92</sup>

The new guardhouse must have been completed within the same year, as in September of 1872, a prisoner attempted to set it on fire, but was foiled by the quick response of the men called out by the alarm, and the proximity to the pumping station and water supply. It is described in this account as a stone building.<sup>93</sup>

A fuller description of the guardhouse was published in 1875:

In 1871 the present guardhouse was built of stone quarried in the vicinity. Its dimensions are 50 by 23 by 11 feet. It is divided into two rooms of equal size, separated by a hall four feet wide. The guardroom is lighted and ventilated by two large windows, and a door leading into the hall, and the prison by two small windows (barred) on opposite sides near the ceiling. Ten prisoners is the average number.<sup>94</sup>

The guardhouse in common with other structures needed new flooring in 1878, and Major Thomas stated that since only one-inch pine boards of local manufacture were available he had laid them in a double thickness for better wear.<sup>95</sup>

By 1880, there was an addition of frame construction 20 feet long at the south end, serving as an ordnance storehouse.<sup>96</sup>

The post surgeon had to inspect the guardhouse as one of the requisites of his monthly sanitary report and his parallel entry in the Medical History of the Post. In his record for November of 1880 he said:

I would respectfully recommend that the Prison room in the guardhouse be warmed by a stove. The prisoners, I think, should have an

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90. Cir. #4, WD SGO, 1870.

91. Ltr. Brackett to AGDP, May 21, 1871.

92. Randolph B. March, *Outline Description of Military Posts*, GPO, Wn., 1872.

93. Ltr. DeTrobriand to AGDP, Sept. 29, 1872.

94. Cir. #8, WD SGO, p. 383.

95. Ltr. Thomas to Ch.Q.M.D.P., March 11, 1878.

96. Ltr. Wolf to Ch. Engr. D.P., Jan. 8, 1880.

opportunity to warm and dry their feet when they return from labor to the guardhouse in the evening.<sup>97</sup>

Further on in his report, Surgeon Caldwell mentions that the maximum temperature for the month was 57 degrees Farenheit, and the minimum temperature for the month was -41 degrees Farenheit!

The guardhouse continued to attract the attention of the post surgeons. It was recorded that the prison room was plastered in August, 1882,<sup>98</sup> but it is mentioned as "poorly ventilated" in December of 1883.<sup>99</sup> In one of the last mentions of it, the surgeon recorded in December of 1884 that the prison room and guard room both smelled bad because of prisoner food spilled on the floor, soaking into the boards.<sup>100</sup>

### Hospital

For a variety of reasons, the hospital generated a volume of correspondence much greater than that of some other structures at Fort Fred Steele. Partially, this is a result of the extensive record keeping of the post surgeon on top of other records relative to structures. Part of the reason is found in the fact that there was a sequence of hospitals here despite the relatively short life of the post.

For over two years, the hospital was a purely makeshift affair, with five hospital tents strung out in line as a ward, and three similar tents at right angles to house other functions. The tents were blanket lined and heated with stoves. They were framed up with lumber. The surgeon general's office states that, "This establishment proved tolerably comfortable."<sup>101</sup>

During the fall of 1870, the northernmost of the barracks were converted to a hospital. This served through the completion of a new hospital of special design in 1876.<sup>102</sup>

With the move to the new hospital, the old barracks/hospital served such uses as bath house, school room, and shops for company artificers. While serving in the latter capacity, it was destroyed by fire in January of 1879.<sup>103</sup>

The regular post hospital itself was destroyed by a fire started by coals falling from a stove to an unprotected floor on May 9, 1882.

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97. Med. History File, Nov. 1880.

98. Med. History File, Aug. 1882.

99. Med. History File, Dec. 1883.

100. Med. History File, Dec. 1884.

101. Cir. 4, SGO, Dec. 5, 1870.

102. *Ibid.*, extensive correspondence 1874-1876.

103. Ltr. Thornburg to AGDP

One of the barracks was vacant at the time, and a temporary hospital was set up in this that month.<sup>104</sup>

To meet this need for still another hospital at Fort Steele, the Department Quartermaster had the old hospital at Fort Sanders dismantled and salvageable materials shipped by rail to Fort Steele. In May of 1883, Headquarters, Department of the Platte, contracted for the erection of the new hospital by James East.<sup>105</sup>

The hospital functions moved into the new building, which lacked painting and shelving and other finishing touches, on June 16, 1883.<sup>106</sup> It was built on the site of the building that had burned in 1882.<sup>107</sup> Additional finishing touches continued every few months until it was learned the post was to be abandoned.<sup>108</sup> At that time all moveable fixtures along with shelving, counters and bookcases were removed and shipped to Fort Duchesne, on the Ute Reservation.<sup>109</sup>

#### Library/Chapel/School

In our experience, one often gets questions about buildings to fulfill these functions. The library is the one of the three that got the most attention, since it was supported by allocations from the post fund. Military posts seldom designated a given building as a chapel in this period, when church attendance in the army was apt to be light; and if there were a post chaplain, he might be of such denomination as to serve principally the commissioned officers' families. Schools were of three kinds: classes for officers in military subjects; classes, usually night classes, for enlisted men aimed at increasing the literacy rate in the army and improving linguistic ability of immigrants, and schools for the children of the garrison. There were so few commissioned officers that recitations in tactics and the like could be held in almost any convenient office. Frequently the night school for enlisted men and day school for children would utilize the same space. We should point out that it was difficult to obtain teachers at the western army posts, so often school was not held for extended periods.

At Fort Fred Steele, these functions shared a single structure, surprisingly referred to as a "chapel." This little building stood amidst the quartermaster/commissary complex south of the U. P. railroad tracks, not really very far from the post trader's store and the saloon. It has been described as:

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104. Medical history, May 1882.

105. Ltr. Chipman to AGDP, May 19, 1883.

106. Medical History, June 1883.

107. I.G. Inspection Report, Oct. 13, 1883.

108. Med. Histories, et. seq.

109. Med. History, August 1886.

The chapel, which is also used as a post library and court-martial room, 20 by 40 by 10 feet, is built of pine boards, battened, lathed, plastered, and shingled. The books are arranged in suitable closets.<sup>110</sup>

The building is seldom mentioned except by listing in the post records. In 1876, it was reported that:

A post school has been established in the chapel for the benefit of the children in the Garrison.<sup>111</sup>

### Cemetery

The Fort Fred Steele post cemetery occupies a position within easy reach of the existing road into the fort area.

The first mention of the cemetery that we find is an order detailing a corporal and five men to build a fence around the post cemetery.<sup>112</sup> This detail worked for almost a month.<sup>113</sup>

In 1872, the cemetery is described as:

. . . 176 by 115 feet, about eight hundred yards from the post, fence partially completed, headboards to all graves of soldiers.<sup>114</sup>

Cemetery fencing was a continuing problem. It was replaced in 1878.<sup>115</sup> In 1881, an inspecting officer noted that it "needs repairing and whitewashing," and in 1882 it "needs repairing."<sup>116</sup>

The 1882 report noted:

Some kind of a durable headstone should be provided, as those made by the Post Q.M. last but a short time.<sup>117</sup>

In 1883:

The cemetery is not in good condition, it requires a new fence, and many of the graves should be filled in and rounded up. The names on a number of the headboards became obliterated by the action of the weather. Nearly all of the headboards should be replaced with new ones.<sup>118</sup>

and in 1884:

"The fence is down."<sup>119</sup>

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110. Cir. #8, WD SGO 1875.

111. Ltr. Gordon to AGDP, Jan. 5, 1876.

112. S.O. #182, Hq. Ft. Steele, Nov. 4, 1870.

113. S.O. #192, Hq. Ft. Steele, Nov. 22, 1870; S.O. #199, Hq. Ft. Steele, Dec. 3, 1870.

114. R. B. March, *Outline Description of Military Posts*, 1872.

115. Ltr., Thomas to AGDP, March 11, 1878.

116. Post Commander's Inspection reports for 1881 and 1882, RG159 NARS.

117. *Ibid.*

118. *Ibid.*, 1883.

119. Inspector General's Inspection report, 1884, RG159, NARS.

An inspecting officer wrote in July of 1886, just a few months before the post was abandoned:

The post cemetery is not in good condition. It is surrounded by an unpainted picket fence. Not all of the graves have the prescribed headboard. In those that have been erected, there is no uniformity in size, and none of them are numbered. There are no walks in the cemetery, and as it is far above irrigation, except at enormous expense, no trees or shrubs can live there. The cemetery has been much neglected, and is a very dreary spectacle.<sup>120</sup>

*Upon abandonment of the post, the tract comprising the cemetery was reserved from sale by the Interior Department at the request of the Secretary of War.*<sup>121</sup>

At this time there were one officer, 24 soldiers, three children of officers, five children of soldiers, two soldiers' wives, and 45 civilians buried in this cemetery.<sup>122</sup>

Ultimately in 1892 (we have not established a precise date), the soldier dead were removed to Fort McPherson National Cemetery in Nebraska. This occurred after the disposition of the surrounding lands, so it appears likely that the cemetery tract is still in public ownership.<sup>123</sup>

The graves that remain there range from "unknown citizens" to such frontier notables as Jefferson Standifer, who made virtually every gold rush from 1849 on!<sup>124</sup>

### Private Buildings

The post trader was a person appointed by the Secretary of War, who was permitted to carry on trade at a given army post under regulations of the army. J. W. Hugus held the post tradership at Fort Fred Steele during most of its occupancy, though in the closing years he maintained a business partnership with a former clerk, Fenimore Chatterton, who finally bought out the tradership from Hugus about the time the army decided to abandon the post. Chatterton is of special interest in that he was prominent in the development of the community of Saratoga, active in business and politics in Rawlins, and many years later became governor of Wyoming.<sup>125</sup>

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120. *Ibid.*, for July 1886.

121. File #1455, QMG, 1886.

122. *Ibid.*

123. Ltr. Col. Elmer Kell, QMG, to P. E. Daley, Oct. 28, 1955.

124. Standifer is in grave #39. see: E. S. Topping, *Chronicles of the Yellowstone*, (R. A. Murray, ed.), (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines; 1968). W. J. McConnell, Manuscript "Idaho Inferno" in the Bancroft Library; *Frontier Index*, Green River City editions, 1868.

125. Fenimore Chatterton, *Yesterday's Wyoming*, Powder River Publishers, 1957.

The post trader maintained a sizeable complex not from the railroad station and the quartermaster and commissary buildings south of the tracks. Included were the store, the trader's house, a fenced yard and outbuildings, and a saloon across the road. This growing and changing group of buildings is described briefly in some of the army reports, though not in the detail of the military buildings.

The trader's store drew civilian trade from a considerable area, and Chatterton asserts that at the peak of activity here the gross business volume ran as much as \$350,000 per year.<sup>126</sup>

### The Hotel

East of the trader's complex lay a privately owned hotel, built and operated by E. C. Bowen under a permit from the post commander.<sup>127</sup>

### Other Structures

We should mention the propensity of the army at a western post for building small sheds, lean-tos, and other auxiliary buildings about as often as the need developed, and demolishing them when they became too dilapidated to serve further. We are sure this was the case at Fort Steele.

### Railroad Structures

During the army years at Fort Fred Steele, the Union Pacific built three successive bridges. The first was a skimpy, timber trestle to get the first line across the river. It was replaced, probably within a year, by a substantial timber truss bridge.

By the 1880s a still stronger wrought-iron bridge spanned the North Platte.

Finally in the years after abandonment of the post, the railroad double-tracked the line, changed the grade alignment and built a new steel bridge, still in use.

In addition to the bridges and trackage and the bridge tender's house, we have discussed previously, the railroad maintained a sizeable station here, replacing and expanding this complex as needed. There was the usual trackside water tower.

As the volume of traffic on the line increased, this became a more important water point. After the abandonment of the post, the railroad built a massive brick pumping station which still stands. It housed large steam driven, coal fired pumps, and stored

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126. *Ibid.*

127. Abandoned military posts file, Interior Dept. Records.

water in a large brick underground reservoir on a hill to the southwest.

We will discuss other structures that have left some evidence at Fort Steele in our section on the post-military period here.

### Fire History

In an era of wood and coal heating stoves, kerosene lamps, candles and other hazards, it is not surprising that fire was one of the most serious dangers at a western army post. We have already outlined the limited reach of the post's water supply even at peak of development and have mentioned some of the more notable fires. The post commander issued a large number of detailed orders relative to preparedness and procedures for fire prevention and fire-fighting. Despite these there was a worse fire history here than at most western posts. Some of the important fires with their causes in brief are:

- March 30, 1870, slab-building (soldiers theatre)—arson
  - July 8, 1872, guard house—arson
  - July 23, 1872, bakery—defective chimney
  - July 26, 1872, stable at C. O.'s house—arson
  - July 31, 1872, trash heap in trader's yard—unknown
  - August 14, 1872, carpenter shop and granary—suspected arson
  - May 9, 1882, post hospital—hot coals from stove
  - Dec. 13, 1882, engine house and sawmill—unknown
- The post-military fire history is, of course, even more extensive.

The foregoing is a summary of the structural history of Fort Steele during the army occupancy. We will discuss the abandonment and post-military structures in another section of the report.

### IV. COMMENTS ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF FORT FRED STEELE

Life at Fort Steele bore a great deal of similarity to life elsewhere in the frontier army during the period 1868-1886. For a general background on the subject, the seriously interested should turn to such excellent studies as *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, by Don Rickey, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.).

The same organization and discipline that made the army a functional combat organization set the framework for a social stratification so clear cut and widely separated that one's view of the frontier army depends very much on whether he is looking at affairs at a given post from the standpoint of an enlisted soldier, a commissioned officer or socially-equal civilian, or a civilian employee of the government.

The lowest paid second lieutenant got \$1260 per year, plus extensive perquisites. His cash pay alone was over three times the

earnings of a typical civilian in that era of dollar-a-day common labor and \$2.00 a day skilled labor on the farms and in the factories of the east. A lieutenant colonel or colonel commanding the post typically got well over \$4000 per year and still more defined and undefined "fringe benefits."

By contrast, the private got but \$13 per month and his rations and quarters, while the commissary sergeant could not hope to progress beyond \$35 per month and a better set of quarters!

The post trader and his chief clerk and their families were about the only citizens except railroad executives that were admitted to the select little society of the commissioned officers and their families.

Citizen-employees ranged from the \$35 per month laborer and the \$45 a month teamster (who drew both rations and quarters) to the reasonably well-paid blacksmith, stone mason, or carpenter who, according to urgency and labor supply, might draw around \$85 to \$100 per month and quarters.

The biggest single factor in making Fort Steele a different sort of post than Fort Laramie or Fort Fetterman as far as living conditions was the simultaneous presence of telegraphic communication, good mail service, and rail passenger and freight service from the very outset of construction at the post. Omaha, with its headquarters, Department of the Platte, was only two days away by rail. There are practically no complaints recorded in the post records of the quantity, quality, or delivery of food supplies, forage, or fuel. This stands out in sharp contrast to many other posts off the rail line.

The presence of the rail line with freight trains several times daily altered one other factor of life at the post, too. It made it much easier to desert the service here than at Fort Fetterman, Fort Washakie, or Fort Phil Kearny, as examples. On either the freight or passenger trains, it was possible for a soldier to get to Rawlins quickly, easily and relatively cheaply. Fort Fred Steele had an almost continuous procession of garrison court martials, with the most common charge being that of getting drunk in Rawlins and missing the train back to the post, or getting into other trouble in that still-brawling frontier town.

Considering the length of occupancy and the relatively small garrison, Fort Fred Steele also had a greater incidence of arson, use of narcotics and theft.

Still, there was a good deal of healthy amusement, too, when settlers from the ranches and from Rawlins flocked in for the Fourth of July, for example. Or when officers of the garrison built an ice boat to run on the frozen river.

Post Surgeons regarded it as a healthy place to be stationed. It had a better water supply than most posts, despite an occasional complaint from the surgeon that drainage from the hotel yard and the trader's corral were polluting the stream above the water point.

There was a relatively low incidence of new cases of venereal disease. The garrison suffered from colds and sinus conditions in winter and from diarrhea and eneritis in summer (as did most of the population of the country in that period).

Considerable color was added by the presence of a number of noted officers as members of units or as post commanders here over the years. Colonel Richard I. Dodge became well-known for his books *33 Years Among Our Wild Indians*, and *The Plains of the Great West*, both still being reprinted. Colonel Regis DeTrobriand wrote *Military Life in Dakota*, long available in only his native French. Both he and Colonel Albert G. Brackett were noted as military historians, DeTrobriand for his studies on the Civil War, and Brackett for his *History of the U. S. Cavalry*. Major James S. Brisbin made the ranching west famous with his *Beef Bonanza, or How to Get Rich on the Plains*. Many of the post's officers were involved in Indian campaigns of note.

Most notable in later years was Captain Arthur MacArthur, ultimately a general, a pioneer in the study of far eastern military affairs, and the father of one of the most famous generals of all.

As we noted in the previous part, Post Trader Fenimore Chaterton eventually became governor of the state. His predecessor and business partner, J. W. Hugus, invested some of his profits in a little village bank and two hundred acres of land that became the heart of Pasadena, California.

Brigadier General George Crook, long-time commander of the Department of the Platte, used this as a jumping-off place for a number of his lengthy hunting trips of the 1880s.

And always, the daily trains, the wires, and the news that came in with regularity, kept Fort Fred Steele as it was intended to be, very much in touch with the rest of the nation and the rest of the army.

## V. ABANDONMENT AND DISPOSITION OF FORT FRED STEELE

The second half of the 1880s was a time of reorganization and consolidation for the units and garrisons that had substantially brought an end to the "Indian question" as a military problem. The trend was to bring the scattered companies of men together into substantial units for greater efficiency and for better training in the tactics of larger units and modern warfare. A few selected posts in each region served as points of concentration. Old, worn, isolated posts, and posts far from sources of potential trouble were being abandoned in favor of newly built or newly expanded posts in favored locations. Some areas of contact with the reservation Indians were still regarded as potential trouble spots deserving reenforcement. Where possible, the processes of change were combined.

General Crook wanted to reenforce Fort Duchesne at the Ute

Reservation and decided to use the three companies at Fort Steele for this purpose. General Alfred Terry, at that time Commanding General of the Military Division of the Missouri, concurred, and recommended abandoning Fort Steele in a letter to the Adjutant General on July 30, 1886.<sup>1</sup> On August 6, Terry ordered the troops from Fort Steele transferred to Fort Duchesne and a guard to be supplied to Fort Steele from the garrison of Fort D. A. Russell.<sup>2</sup>

On August 12, President Grover Cleveland ordered the military reservation of Fort Fred Steele transferred to the control of the Secretary of the Interior.<sup>3</sup>

By this time, the troops at Fort Steele were already packing up all valuable property for the move.<sup>4</sup> The guard detail, Lieutenant E. F. Howe and 22 men of the 17th Infantry out of Fort D. A. Russell, arrived to take over guard duty and assist with the packing of property.<sup>5</sup> The post hospital closed on October 20, 1886.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly after abandonment by the last of the regular garrison, "Hall and Roe" of the Fort Steele area asked permission to rent one or two of the vacant buildings. They were informed that the War Department did not have authority to do this.<sup>7</sup>

On November 19, 1886, the Secretary of War wrote to the Secretary of Interior requesting that the area of the Post Cemetery be excepted from sale or transfer because of the military burials remaining in it.<sup>8</sup> As we indicated in the section on the history of the cemetery, this was done; and we have not found evidence yet that this land has ever been transferred from army jurisdiction, even though the military burials were removed.

The Secretary of War, on November 24, 1886, requested that the Secretary of Interior designate a custodian so that the War Department could relinquish its control over the reservation.<sup>9</sup> The Interior Department had no funds for the purpose, however, and had to wait until the coming fiscal year.<sup>10</sup>

Lieutenant Howe and 19 of his men left Fort Steele to return to Fort D. A. Russell on November 3, 1886, leaving Corporal George A. Spencer, Co. D. 17th Infantry, and two privates of his company in charge of the government property at Fort Steele.<sup>11</sup>

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1. Ltr. Terry to AGO, July 30, 1886.

2. Ltr. Terry to AGO, August 6, 1886.

3. Proclamation, by President Grover Cleveland, August 12, 1886.

4. Medical History of Fort Fred Steele, August, 1886 (SGO records)

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Ltr. Hall and Roe, Ft. Steele to Military Division of the Missouri, Nov. 6, 1886, and endorsement from Mil. Div. Mo. dated Nov. 15, 1886.

8. Ltr. War to Interior, Nov. 19, 1886.

9. Ltr. War to Interior, Nov. 24, 1886.

10. Ltr. Hawkins, Interior to Sec'y. War, Dec. 1, 1886.

11. Roster #5, Department of the Platte, Dec. 27, 1886.

Certain citizens, writing from Fort Steele, asserted that government property was being misused and that Spencer's guard was not doing its job, so by late December Lieutenant G. N. Roach went to investigate. He concluded that Spencer was doing his job very well under the circumstances. Kilpatrick Brothers, "contractors on the Railroad building south to Aspen, Colorado," were using the Q. M. storehouses as a warehouse, and storing their explosives in the magazine. E. D. Worthy had moved into the commissary sergeant's quarters and was using them for a restaurant. Hugus and Chatterton still had employees at the store and other trader's buildings. Mr. Has Sleiger was running a hotel and using other buildings for stables and a slaughterhouse. Main contractors and freighters were using some other structures. Roach, in his report, went on to say:

From what I could see or learn, I judge that during the last two months Fort Steele has been crowded with contractors and laborers on the railroad being constructed South.

With little or no shelter or accommodation outside of the government buildings, many without means and some women and children.<sup>12</sup>

Other officials in their endorsements on this report said, in essence, that they thought it better that the buildings be occupied instead of vacant under the circumstances.

With the coming of the new fiscal year, Secretary of War Endicott renewed his request that the Department of Interior appoint a custodian.<sup>13</sup> Late in October of 1887, the new custodian for the Interior Department, Mr. L. W. Bennett, assumed control of the post; and the soldier guard was withdrawn to Fort D. A. Russell on October 23, 1887.

In December of 1891, the Department of the Interior had a board of appraisers value the buildings at the Fort.<sup>14</sup> With their report in hand, it was possible to prepare to sell the buildings at public auction. The coming auction was advertised in newspapers in the surrounding region.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the buildings were sold at auction on June 7, 1892. The proceeds of this sale were \$1316.50. A few buildings remained unsold.<sup>16</sup> In October of 1892, a new appraisal on the remaining structures was filed.<sup>17</sup> On February 23, 1893, the last of the buildings were sold.<sup>18</sup>

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12. Ltr. Roach to Post Adjutant, Ft. D. A. Russell, Dec. 31, 1886.

13. Ltr. Endicott to Sec'y. Interior, July 12, 1887.

14. Roster, Department of the Plate, Dec. 1, 1887, and letter, Sec'y Interior to Commissioner, General Land Office, Dec. 15, 1891.

15. Ltr. Joseph Maul Carey to Commissioner, GLO, Feb. 22, 1892.

16. Ltr., register, U.S. Land Office for Wyo., to GLP, June 9, 1892.

17. Ltr., register, U.S. Land Office for Wyo., to GLP, Oct. 20, 1892.

18. Ltr., register, U.S. Land Office for Wyo., to GLP, Oct. 27, 1893.

We believe it may be of some importance to note that purchase of buildings did not convey title to any land and that purchasers were advised in writing that if they left the buildings on the land more than 30 days, they did so at their own risk.<sup>19</sup>

With the completion of these sales, the remaining land at Fort Fred Steele (except the cemetery) became part of the public domain, ending 25 years of direct federal on-site administration of the site.

## VI. POST-MILITARY HISTORY OF THE AREA

Some old army posts didn't "just fade away" like the old soldiers of song, but vanished practically overnight at the hands of settlers hungry for seasoned lumber, incendiaries, red and white, or the elements. In the 80 years since the government turned the buildings over to civilian owners, many of the buildings have been dismantled for salvage, burned through carelessness or vandalism, and otherwise destroyed. The wonder is that there is so much left here, in a place that has never really had the protective isolation of many frontier post sites.

Even as the soldiers moved away, as we saw in the preceding part, railroad contractors and their laborers were moving in. At the turn of the century, more railroad construction on the Union Pacific and connecting lines brought additional activity to the community.

The biggest single industry in the immediate area for many years was the collection, sorting and loading of railroad ties, mine timbers, and the manufacture of a number of lumber and log by-product items. Several of the tie camp and mill operators and promoters in this field organized the Carbon Timber Company in 1900. For a number of years, this company held the major tie contracts for its mining subsidiaries. One of the antecedent firms, J. C. Teller and Company, had a loading plant for ties on the bank of the river opposite Fort Steele.

This plant burned in 1902, but was rebuilt by the Carbon Timber Company. This company opened extensive logging operations at Hog Park, Encampment Meadows, and other points in the Encampment area. They bought ties from the individual tie hacks at 12 cents to 16 cents each, in the woods, or 20 cents each delivered to streamside. In addition, they cut logs for mining ties, mine timbers and other heavy construction lumber. The ties,

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19. Several notices within correspondence of Abandoned Military Reservations file.

Note: All the above data are to be found in the Abandoned Military Reservation File on Fort Fred Steele, Interior Department Records, NARS, except where indicated otherwise.

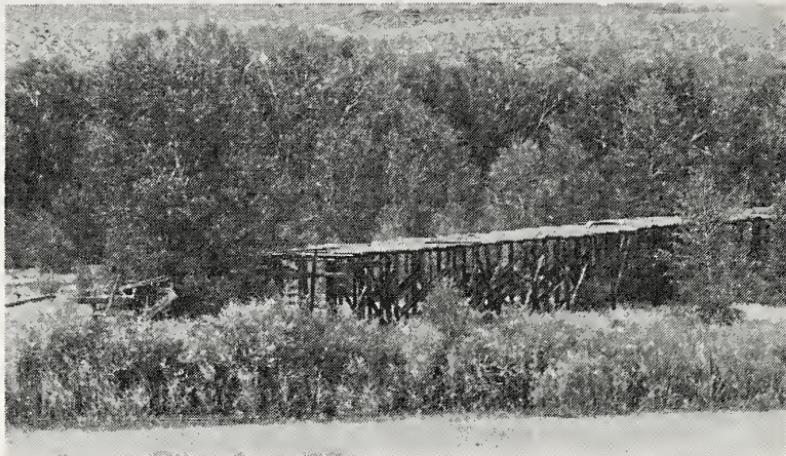


Photo by Junge, Wyoming Recreation Commission

**TIE LOADING AND SORTING DOCK**

This is a telephoto view of the Carbon Timber Company's dock from near the Fort Steele cemetery site. The photo was taken in 1972.



Photo by Junge, Wyoming Recreation Commission

**CABIN AT CARBON TIMBER COMPANY TOWN, 1972**

timbers, and logs were floated down the river to the Fort Steele area, held there by a boom, and loaded after sorting.

The Carbon Timber Company built its own town south of the railroad and east of the river. There was a company headquarters building, a company store, a number of houses. There was over a mile of railroad sidings, several loading and sorting decks, sawmills, and a substantial powerhouse.

The peak years for this community were 1903-1907. After that date, they ran into increasing competition from other sources and other companies. They became involved in timber trespass litigation with the U. S. Forest Service.

The key figures in the company were closely linked with the management of the Union Pacific Railroad for some time, but as the railroad management structure changed, they found less and less protection from competition.

With the death of some of the leaders in the company from 1906 to 1930, it steadily lost ground. After that time, motor transportation and modern logging and lumbering methods rapidly made obsolete the tie hacks and their colorful annual pilgrimage to Fort Steele.<sup>1</sup>

Protected by the isolation on the east side of the river, the Carbon Timber Company town has suffered less from vandalism and the deterioration of heavy use that has been the lot of Fort Steele. There remains a substantial part of the town and the sidings.

The land immediately surrounding the historic buildings at Fort Steele passed into the hands of Cosgriff Brothers, a ranching firm in the 1900s. They made use of some buildings, maintaining a sheep-shearing pen, warehouses, and the store here for some years. They moved their local headquarters to Walcott in 1904.<sup>2</sup> The Leo Sheep Company, owned today by Charles Vivion and his sons, Vern and Bob, acquired the Cosgriff holding in 1915, and still own considerable land in the area.<sup>3</sup>

As we indicated in the chapter on structural history, many buildings were dismantled for salvage in the 1890s. At each new

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1. This account of Carbon Timber Company investigations is based on the following sources:

Unpublished: "Memorandum Covering the Past History, Present Organization and Status and Probably Future of the Carbon Timber Company." November 7, 1914. (In the old files of Medicine Bow National Forest now a part of the holdings of the Western History Research Center of the Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie) Collection of *Grand Encampment Herald* newspaper clippings, University of Wyoming, same collections. Unpublished manuscript on Carbon Timber Co. and Wyoming Timber Co., Wyoming Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

2. Interview, Charles Vivion, Rawlins, June, 1972.

3. *Ibid.*

wave of local prosperity, some venturesome soul would build one new building or rebuild something from the old post. Some of these buildings remain today. Along the northeast side of the parade stands a small frame house that probably dates from the early 1900s. Another of late '90s vintage stands across a barracks location. There has been a concrete floored garage on the site of the old barracks/hospital structure. The James Hanson house and sheds from the 1900 period still stand, also occupying a former barracks location.

South of the tracks there are scattered concentrations of house ruins, sheds, and dugouts. As late as 1964, we saw many of these hovels when inhabited by transients and other squatters. Newspaper accounts testify to a continuation of the serious fire-history of the post, and most of the major structures that are missing have burned.

Today, Interstate Highway 80, a mile-and-a-half away, with its new rest area and commercial cluster, are revolutionizing regional transportation much as did the railway in 1868. Perhaps in the context of this new era, Fort Steele can recapture part of its former spirit through communication of the story of military and transportation history across this transcontinental route, and tell the story of the region's development in logging, mining, and stockraising to some of the millions who pass nearby.

# *Harry Boyer in Wyoming, 1878*

Edited by Francis Boyer

What a job it must be to write good history! This I have found in my own very amateur efforts to preserve for family and friends what seemed to me interesting episodes in regard to my own forebears. My admiration grows for "A Virginia Gentleman", written by my mother in her late seventies, about her father and his family.

However, here is another go at preserving family records, in the shape of letters from my father to his parents during a trip he made to Wyoming in 1878, when he was 23 years of age.

I vaguely remember hearing from my mother that Father made this trip for his health. Just what his ailment was I do not know, but in one of his letters he writes of his weight being 135 pounds, "a little more than my average, home", so that he can scarcely be thought of as robust, though, as other letters show, he must have been a pretty tough citizen, as he expressed it, not the least tired after a ride of 25 miles to Fort Fetterman.

My only other background recollection is that Father was always rather proud of his having preceded his friend Owen Wister into the romantic cowboy West by seven years or so. Wister made his first trip to the West in 1885, and published his most famous book, *The Virginian*, in 1902.

In 1878 Wyoming was a pretty wild country. It had become a territory in 1869—a state in 1890—and the climax of our Indian troubles was in 1876 with the "Custer Massacre" at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

The Union Pacific Railroad was built through the southern part of the Territory in 1867-1869, about ten years before Father's visit.

The population of the Territory in 1870 was just a little better than 9000. (In 1970 it was around 331,600.)

(Wolcott's Ranch, Father's base,) seems to have been 25 miles or so from Fort Fetterman, which was established as a military post in 1867, and named in honor of Captain (Brevet Lieutenant Colonel) William J. Fetterman who, with his whole command, was killed in a fight with the Indians in December, 1866.

In 1868 a number of other forts were abandoned, but Fort Fetterman continued as a post until 1882, and was a most important factor during the mid-1880s, serving as a base for several important Indian campaigns. Its supplies were freighted in some 70 miles from Fort Laramie, or from Medicine Bow on the Union Pacific.

Obviously I could present a more detailed historical background for this material, but the center of interest is the letters themselves. So here they are.



Photo Courtesy of Francis Boyer  
**HARRY BOYER**

This tintype of Harry Boyer may have been made not too many years prior to his trip to Wyoming in 1878.

The Ranch near  
Fort Fetterman  
By candlelight at some  
uncertain hour of the  
19th June A. D. 1878

To-

My dearest:

Imagine me sitting tailor fashion on our blankets in the tent with a high wind threatening rain without, writing on some half dozen of old Chicago papers in my lap, for a desk, with an eagle quill for a pen, a pen that I made myself, and plucked from an eagle's wing and then do not blame my chirography which is surprisingly good under the circumstances I assure you. Had I pencil and good drawing paper I should certainly send you some sketches of this place, but I have neither and a pen sketch must give you some faint idea of my surroundings. I had intended in my other letter from Fort Fetterman telling you many things I was then too hurried to write and that ere I have finished may be too sleepy now to remember.

"Wolcotts Ranch" is on Deer Creek about four miles from its mouth in The Platte—two tents and three "dugouts" complete the establishment with four men besides ourselves. We are in a valley at the foot of the mountains, with table land and flat and hill around us, a much diversified country and in the Fall abounding with game, Grouse, Sage Hen, Ducks, Antelope, Black and White Tail Deer, Bear, Mountain Lion, Elk, Beaver, Buffalo, etc. I forgot to tell you that coming over the Rockys, Tom and I saw a Mountain Lion, a long creature as high as a big Newfoundland, a big Grey Wolf, and Elk and a smaller wolf, which I shot at, at about 300 yards and nearly gave him a fit, as it was a perfect line shot but a foot beneath him; the others we pursued but they galloped off. I had a very pleasant visit at the Fort, the Major being on excellent terms with the garrison and they entertaining us nicely.

I wrote you we killed a Buffalo going over. Yes, as we came to the top of a little rise there was a tremendous bull looking over at us—tremendous is the word appropriate for you cannot imagine their immensity. He would make two big steers and a calf or two over. Going back we tried to chop his horns off, but they were so hard the hatchet blade broke in two and we left him with no trophy other than his tail. Two days ago, alone, I started out on an antelope hunt and when about three miles from camp I saw a black speck some two miles in the distance. Can that be a buffalo? thought I, well here goes to find out. As I neared it I was certain it moved, but whether a horseman, steer or buffalo I was not decided. The nearer I approached the more convinced I was that

it was naught else than a big bull buffalo—at about half a mile it turned tail and disappeared. I put spurs to my horse and away over a hill to head Mr. Bull—reaching the top there he was about 200 yds. from me, walking slowly and looking for me—then he came head on for a little ways. I galloped around him to get a shoulder shot, wheeled and as I did so, he started off on a lumbering gallop. I let fly and took him fairly in the shoulder possibly through the heart, he stopped and I expected him to charge, but he walked slowly away and lay down on a slope. I knew then he was fatally hit, but they are hard to kill, so I rode around coming within 100 yards and fired into him some seven more shots, one unfortunately hit his horn and shattered it badly. But my first shot killed him. I rode home and told the incredulous Major I had killed a buffalo. Ike and I started out in the night then to find him. It was dark and rainy and we roamed over the hills some time before I got my bearings, when there he lay, stiff, a monster. Ike cut off a haunch, his hoofs and tongue and his tail is nailed up before the tent. So that was my first buffalo.

Yesterday Wolcott took me to the wildest place, Deer Creek Canon where the water rushes down between the mountains to the valley below. We were looking for Deer and Bear. The Canon is a great place for bear a little later. We had to dismount and climb with our horses over rocks and debris you would hardly think they could go, and after crawling thus half up the Canon, left our horses and slid down to the creek, nestled under a rock, smoked and napped. We saw some 40 antelope but got none. I had my shot gun and killed 6 or 8 sage hens which are very good eating. There are any quantity of Rattlesnakes but they do not fear them much. We killed two big ones day before yesterday. I will send the rattles to you in a box by mail. The snakes make a peculiar locust like noise very distinct. Now I must stop and will add what is worth writing before Sunday. I pray for your good health and blessing—that you will both enjoy Narragansett.

With love

Harry

The Ranch  
July 24th 78.

My darling Mother:

I am writing in my tent by candle light (Jerry the deer hound has just thrust his nose between the flaps prospecting I suppose for a possible chance of sleeping on my blankets). Shall I describe it? I made the bed I am lying on a day or two ago of poles nicely joined and nailed together with a bottom of willow poles laced with switches and a very good and substantial bed it is, quite the "boss" on the ranch. On this my mattress stuffed with

hay then the buffalo robe and blankets; two saddle cloths and my overcoat for a pillow and of necessity sleep in drawers and woolen shirt. We are all same daytime. My furniture is perfectly primitive—my saddle and bridle in a corner on a rack—a soap box on four posts makes a closet for ammunition etc. A pair of magnificent elk antlers nailed on a post makes a beautiful and effective gun and clothes rack—another soap box nailed to the tent post is a useful shelf for bricabac, etc. An old bayonet driven in my bedstead is my candle stick, my pen an eagle quill, my ink bottle slung to one of the elk prongs and here am I writing on a cartridge box to my loved one. Here am I after a hard days hunt, alone, but extremely successful for I shot three antelope in three consecutive shots which is quite a feat for a "tenderfoot" and good for any one. Received congratulations all around and am regularly installed camp hunter. Yesterday I fired *sixteen* shots and killed one but so the luck and skill too . . . . . (page torn out) . . . . . I know the country pretty well and what I don't the horse does for these horses have the same affinity for home as the lodestone the pole and if one is uncertain of the direction these bronchos tell him quickly enough.

It is a grand sensation roaming these mountain prairies with deep canons and rough gulches and then rising to high bluffs that overlook the whole country, armed with a rifle that seems so much more manly weapon than a shot gun. The men habitually ride and work armed with rifle carbine or revolver and knife and occasionally hatchet in a belt and very picturesque these cow-punchers and bullwhackers seem. Often I wish to sketch them, but I could not portray the charm. We are all the best of friends and it's "Harry" or "Bill" or "Tom" without distinction.

(The stock business of course is *the* trade of the country. Wolcott has ambitious notions of success, and if pluck and energy will win he gets his . . . . (page torn out) . . . )

I have written you for 500 cartridges "Model 76" and for a pipe which I hope will be sent which I hope will be a good one. Ammunition of course is a prime necessity and many shells get lost in the excitement. These will be the only expenses I shall have and what money I now have will doubtless last until my return. Send me too whatever papers you can, the Norristown Herald, etc. and any magazines you may buy besides Harpers and Scribners which Wolcott takes. I should like my Greens Outline of History and Shakespere and when you have the stamps (first class) a novel or two. I am a great trouble am I not?

H.

The Ranch  
August 5th 1878

My dearest All:

I am writing again in the old style—the ink slung on the elk's horns by a bit of string—a cottonwood fire mouldering in the middle of the tent, its sweet aromatic smoke driving away the mosquitos with which some nights we are bothered. The tent is filled with the smoky fumes through which my penny dip mounted on my bayonet candlestick burns dimly and could you look under the tent flap you would see me curled up on my buffalo robe in a pair of Sioux hunting moccasins and in a pair likewise of California overalls, with *burned* nose and the reddest face you ever beheld on your son with a compensation in the way of a beautiful tan on arms and hands writing on a rough board to the dearest parents in the world. (Do not you Father toss this letter to Mother saying, "You read it—I can't!" "Too much trouble" etc. for remember my surroundings and the difficulties of a clerky hand. I am indeed delighted with the cheerful tone of your letters from Cape May. Indeed I cannot tell you how bright it made today.

The men tell me I am growing stouter and judging by my color I am healthier. Sometimes I gaze into the glass Narcissus like and hope for *more* fat to make the Apollo. I am becoming a mighty hunter and my renown grows in the Camp. I am camp hunter and keep meat in stock for seven men. They always look for me to bring in game now and call me "tenderfoot" no longer. I am almost daily in the saddle seven, eight, ten hours, and do not become fatigued. My last trip, on Saturday, was across to "Muddy", starting early. Shot two antelope, packed them on my horse, no small exertion I tell you they will weigh 75 or 100 lbs. and then footed over the foot hills eight miles to Camp. That rather surprised the boys and they think me plucky.

I spent this forenoon chopping a way to a bathing pool and accomplishing that, dammed the creek to make it deeper than "Major" and I took a bawth. I digged the spring and stoned it—cut steps and made a convenient wharf to tote water easier for washing and culinary purposes and so trying to earn my board, go nightly with easy conscience to my bunk.

Bob Chambers has come—an old hunter miner scout—chuck full of hairbreadth escapes and wild adventures on plain and mountain. He entertained me all Sunday with his tales. He was born among the Sioux. His Father was a trapper for the American Fur Company and was eventually killed on the Laramie Plains that I crossed coming here, by the Indians. Bob has been captured often himself but has managed to escape. He gives me points on hunting—will tan my skins and later we are going on a grand hunt. He is the chap that can live on raw unsalted meat

alone for indefinite time and thrive on it, and considers raw elk's brains well mashed the greatest delicacy in the world. He is a splendid fellow, handsome, straight, and though brought up in these wild mountains, among mining camps and so on, neither drinks, swears nor gambles.

I feel a little tired now and have a big ride tomorrow. A thousand thanks for the ammunition and the pipe—if perchance it has not been sent before this reaches you, I wish you would send in the box that spy glass of mine, it will be extremely valuable hunting.

If you find that cigars cost little to send *by mail* as all things under 4 lbs. can be, I should like even a half a box of imported or first class Key West. You can not get them in N. . Wolcott wishes to be remembered to you both. My love to all who care for me and so again good night.

Your affectionate

Harry

Fort Fetterman

August 6th

This morning I rode 25 miles to the Fort bringing some telegrams for Wolcott and letters. Will ride back this evening. I am not the least tired and I must be in fine kelter to do it so easily.

With love

H.

“The Ranch”  
Sep. 14th 1878

It seems a long time ago since I have either written or heard from you and just as I was looking forward to a trip tomorrow to the Post to send this to you and get your letters, comes “Chico” from the pole patch with news of an accident to the wagon or the bull team and perforce the Major must go at once to superintend repairs—so my hopes for tomorrow are gone, and as almost all the ablebodied horses are off with “Tom” and “Ike” (on the “round up”) I cannot ride, and so must wait impatiently until we can get off.

It is more than two weeks since we have been to the Fort and it seems a far longer time. I heard from an “outfit” that was here yesterday that an express package was awaiting me there. The cartridges, no doubt, and I thank you exceedingly for them. (have them now—16tg.)

How I long to be with you both again—there is a deal of sameness in this life and it is beginning to seem very aimless and a wasting of precious time without the greatest gain I wish—think of it, almost three months I have been here. There is nothing to do but hunt and that is my constant occupation and were it not for the grander hunting in the late fall months of elk and blacktail, I would be quite ready to return. My health is the prime consideration but that has not remarkably changed—I have not gained the 50 lbs. I longed for. The Major and I get along admirably; I know his peculiarities now, like him and he likes me. He presented me with a pair of buckskin breeches that button with bright steel buttons down the side and have a very “giddy” look indeed.

Last Saturday the water froze in the wash basins and the mountains about were covered with snow—the nights grow colder and all things are putting on a wintry look. You know my aversion home to early rising, the source of great vexation to my dear daddy, but you should experience a rising these frosty morns, a trip to the creek to wash and the water so cold after turning out from under blankets and buffalo robe.

Three or four days ago I went with some five of the men and the Major up the canyon road, they fixing it to bring down poles, and camped out there two nights. Imagine a roaring fire of pitch pine logs with these rough frontiers—men warming around it, while Deleo prepares the beans for supper, and the cold wind sweeping down through the pass. A clear crisp night, the moonlight streaming against the pale gray rocks far overhead, the strange opaque shadows for all the world like a stage effect with calcium lights. Sleep in your breeches, pull off your shoes, roll up your coat for a pillow, pull covers over head and go to sleep to a lullaby of whistling winds trying to creep under blanket with you.

I hear of a lake some 12 miles from here at the foot of Casper mountain filled with thousands of teal and mallard ducks and shall just wait till the weather gets cold enough to keep them well and camp there some night and kill a whole slew of them.

O Mither, O Mither! how I wish you could cook some of this fat blacktail in the old way, in chafing dish and currant jelly, for venison here seems but tender meat and nothing more, though our new cook is a good one and makes cherry pies and hash and tolerable bread, and does broil meat instead of frying, the popular method.

I finish this at the Fort on the 16th in haste. I have ridden over for the mail—the dear mail and will return tonight on the “Blue filly” and tomorrow will strike out over the mountains with a pack horse to join the “round up”) and hunt with them clear

up to Casper. They have seen lots of elk and blacktail and killed a bear but two days ago. I expect them to have something worth writing. Have the newspaper letter which reads well. Excuse the scrawl—but I am in great hurry. You may not hear again for a couple of weeks, but be assured I am well.

God bless you both to the fullest and Father's improvement. My thoughts are with you always.

Harry

(I like the Maj. better daily.) I weighed 135 lbs. without coat or vest, a little more than my average home, but it is good solid muscle I think, and will not overdo the riding.

### The Ranch

And here it is the last day of September and after a week at Casper I am back again in my tent writing to the only two bodies in the world who I know love me—perchance I should be asleep at this hour but did I try without writing to you, it would be but conning over in the dark, or in such moonlight as shines through my tent, all that I wish to write you now. I'll write a while till my legs get stiff and then for a snooze.

Today I returned from Casper. "Casper" is the remains of an old fort abolished in 66 and named after a Lieutenant killed by the Sioux. He went out to meet a train and saw a few Indians on a hilltop—pursued them from hill to hill till suddenly up rose some thousand warriors, and Casper with some 30 men were slain and not a man escaped to tell the tale. And to Casper I went (some 35 miles) on Monday last, driving a sorrel pack horse with my bedding for his burden—following the old California trail over which have travelled many thousands of pilgrims, emigrants, prospectors, trappers, to find luck or a lonely grave in the Great West. It winds along with the windings of the Platte for the river roadways are the surest and best.

I rode a little Texas race mare as pretty and gritty as a horseman could wish, with a heart branded on her quarter. The day after my arrival there, John Lynn, "Missouri", a boy of 17, and myself, hunted over Casper mountains and right good sport we had. Up the rockiest kind of ravine we rode to its top, seeing bear and elk "sign" almost the whole length, pools where bears had wallowed and not yet quite settled, over places one would hardly think a horse could climb. The nearer we reached the top the more cautiously we advanced, and on peering over the last crest we saw feeding in a beautiful glade on the other side of the mountain a band of elk, some thirty or more, quietly grazing. We dismounted and making a detour on foot to leeward came within 300 yards of

them when they started. They ran over the crest of another hill, and a grand sight it was to see these magnificent creatures, one after another, stop for a moment on the hilltop, proudly look around, and then disappear. You have seen Landseers "The Battle" well! they were such creatures! I shot a magnificent buck—the other none. He fell on the hillside and in his dying struggles rolled crashing through the timber down to the bottom of the ravine below, over and over, maybe 50 yards.

Then next John Lynn killed a blacktail which was hung on a tree. It then was nearly noon—for it was a long ways to the mountain from Casper—and so we sought a spring and lunched. Then striking eastwards we soon found a herd of some 250 elk and John and Missouri killed three. I could have killed many more but would not. (I however shot a blacktail.) For I cannot bear to kill such huge beasts to let the most part rot on the ground or feed the wolves and bears. Packing some of the meat on the pack horse we started for camp and reached there sometime after sundown.

The next day early John Lynn sent "Missouri" up the mountain with a pack horse to bring down the blacktail and more elk meat, and as luck would have it, at the foot of the mountains Missouri struck two bears. He saw them a long ways off and circled around between them and the timber. When he had come within 150 yards he let fly and wounded both but not fatally. Well! each squealed like the deuce and each one, thinking I suppose, that the other had hurt it, set to fighting in the most scientific manner with much shrieking. First one would knock the other down and vice versa, while Missouri laid quiet, enjoying the fight. He shot again and in attempting again to stick in a cartridge, frightened a blacktail nearby who went bounding by. The bears look up and seeing Missouri, one made for him ferociously, snorting and scaring the boy badly. He turned tail and ran for his horse nearby, who began snorting too and prancing about in a way that made it difficult to mount indeed! so that when Missouri was on him and away, the bear was but a few steps from him. But he gathered in the other, and packed him in. But alas! he left all that splendid meat on "Caspers" top to rot and rot, for none save the bears or wolves will ever eat it.

The next day we had planned for a buffalo hunt, but word came that General Miles was coming down from Camp Brown some 150 miles north. And about 10 o'clock he came. Far off over the hills was a moving speck steadily growing larger till one could see horsemen and pack mules. On they came and crossed the Platte just above that ranch, five companies and three pack trains splashing through the swift River. They halted just at the ranch to distribute the mail the Sutler had brought them out and

a number of the soldiers came rushing in to buy milk and meat.) John gave them half the bear and a big quarter of elk. In a short time they filed by, Merrit riding ahead, real regulars, dusty and dirty, with hats of every conceivable pattern and many without a trace of regulation uniform. Five companies and after them three pack trains of mules with little bells on the leaders tinkling as they passed. A novel and interesting sight to me. But still more so was the little band of 15 Arrapahoe braves with them as scouts and trailers. Last year the Arrapahoe tribe encamped near Casper and were constantly at the ranch, and they silently rode up on their ponies to woodpile where we were seated, dismounting and squatting on the logs, began rolling cigarettes.

Such immovable, stolid countenances I never saw, and I watched them, stared at them with childish curiosity. But one got up and walking over to John said, "Howgh! John" shaking hands. We talked to them for some time without a word in reply, but looking at us steadily with their keen eyes. I finally addressed me to an intelligent looking chap with, "How far down are you going?" No reply. I repeated it, and after a brief silence he said, "Don't know." When are you coming back? He held up three fingers with a sweep of his arm from East to West. Three days. But so we talked and they soon were laughing and talking in their queer gutturals among themselves. They said, "Wasseno heap" (buffalo plenty) two fingers up to the north (two days journey). "Who is boss of this outfit?" He nodded he was. He was Young Friday.

They wore hats with eagle feathers in the crown and maybe an eagle wing hanging behind to their long black locks bound with red. A shirt, a blanket hanging around their waists and a kind of blouse breeches with the seat cut out. All wore moccasins and some leggings. Their ponies were trapped out with silver ornaments and squaw work on saddles and bridles, the Indians themselves wore silver earrings and necklaces, and bracelets of copper or brass. Their saddles Indian made and stirrups of deer hide. They smiled at my curiosity for I investigated everything. They rode away thumping their horses sides with heels, and singing in queer monotone, hi yah hi yah hi hi hi hi yah hi yah. None knew English but "Young Friday". These Arrapahoes were once *hostiles* and allies of the Sioux nation but are now on a reservation near Camp Brown.

Colonel, no Captain, Montgomery to whom you know I had a letter from Gen. Emory, was with this *command*, and in the afternoon John (who is Cary's foreman) and I rode some 15 miles below to their encampment, where I introduced myself to Montgomery, was introduced to his brother officers, took supper and had a nice little time. He asked me to go along down to the Fort

and camp with him. I shall ride down to the Fort in a day or two to see them.

At nightfall John and I rode home and John, who had been interviewing the sutler, was in a colloquial and reflective humor, giving me the whole history of his life from the time as apprentice hatter, he, with a printer, a bookbinder and tailer, ran away to see the world. How he had risen in the army, and resigned a First Lieutenancy because he was refused a short leave of absence. How he had worked on the Mississippi levees, and on steamers and barges, and followed the Pacas trail in Texas, always making money, and always spending it. In his confidential humor he told me the boys all liked me and thought "there was no one like 'Harry' ". And we talked about religion—this semi-tight cowpuncher and this wise tenderfoot as they rode in the starlight with the coyotes howling mournfully and that cowpuncher showed the manly spirit that with its many weaknesses tried to do all that a man can do—his duty. The boys call him "Old John" but though 49, he says he'll dance on their graves.

The next day John and I rode out to see Buffalo, and I had determined not to kill a bull, but only a cow if her hide was in condition. After riding 15 or more miles out we saw a bunch, but bulls. We rode up within 150 yards when they started and it is amazing how rapidly such clumsy looking creatures get over the ground. I chased them half a mile on my little mare and could have killed them all, and never shot for I will not waste this brute life for the pleasure of a shot. Nor did I shoot an antelope, and I could have killed a dozen or more, for they were on all sides of us within range. Well, I chased these bulls and rode a long ways but a length behind them, ready for a turn when my rifle sling broke and let the muzzle drag, when I must stop and repair damages. Then we about and rode home. And rode by an Indian grave, the brother of Black Coal, chief of the Arrapahoes, who was killed there last winter on a buffalo hunt. A bull ran on him, upset his horse, and broke his neck. He lies about two miles from the ranch with nothing but the bones and hide of his slain war horse to mark the spot. The grave is not filled to the top, but is some three feet down, and on it grows a bed of prickly pears or cactus, that wolves may not disturb his last repose. On my way back I shot a sage hen on the way with my rifle, and I think I can do it pretty often now.

Captain Coates is going either up the Medicine Bow road or back of Casper in a week or more and I expect to have very good sport with him and pack some horns and hides in. . . . the pines like silhouettes against the sky, and between a vista of rolling prairie far below me, and miles and miles away to the horizon. Retracing my way to ascend and descend another

mountain—to see an antelope or magnificent blacktail jump before me. I would not shoot as I could not burden my horse. Once a blacktail doe with two well grown fawns jumped from the brush and watched me some 40 yards off—it was an exquisite picture as they stood, their beautiful ears pointed towards me until satisfied with the scouting they jumped into the timber.

Finally I came down to the plains again—the sun had set and I had about determined to picket, build a fire and turn in in saddle blankets—not at all discomposed save at the notion of going supperless and breakfastless the next day. The country seemed utterly strange and I had satisfied myself I was some 10 miles above camp when I caught sight of the "Chimneys" the ruins of an old overland stage station. I was but four miles *below* the ranch but in among the high hills. All day in the saddle save 15 min. at noon. The rain is pattering on my tent. I have been long riding and am tired. Good night . . . . .

This is Monday and I have ridden over to the Post to get your letters and send you this, and am again writing as usual at Forsters desk. A ride of twenty-five miles is a commonplace thing to me now and I do it without fatigue. Very often I ride at night, getting back to the ranch at midnight. I love those solitary rides by the dog towns all asleep, through the deep mysterious shadows, fording creeks with rush covered banks, rushes reaching to my saddle bow. Though sometimes I hardly know my position—the hills look strange in the moonlight, and the old cottonwoods have a spectral weird appearance. But there flows the Platte a mile or two to the north, there the high range to the south, both landmarks one cannot lose for long on hill or plain. Curious cattle stand in the road, wondering what the night traveler may be, till with raised tails and lowered heads they stampede snorting over a hillside.

This morning as I went to breakfast there stood a polecat at the kitchen dugout door. I shouted, "A skunk" and rushed for my rifle. Returning found the animal making himself much at home within, lapping the cats' milk with great relish, the kittens looking on wonderingly at that animal of strange perfume. To shoot him would ruin all the stores and to attempt his expulsion would be as bad. There he stood with tail conveniently poised over his back, and last evening when I started he had comfortable quarters behind the flour sacks, enjoying a nap. A strange cat for kitchen pet.

Fort Fetterman October 2nd 78.

I rode in yesterday and will go back to the ranch tomorrow. I find the 5th Cavalry still here and am hand in glove with the officers—all gentlemanly nice fellows.

You see I have determined to return and not stay longer—with your approval. (Wolcott's house will not be finished I'm afraid this winter, though I would not mind living in tent, yet I would not care to impose myself on him so long a time.) Could I go into a law partnership in Cheyenne with any one as a junior member I would need to work harder and be more confined than at home with even less pecuniary gain, in so short a time. So home I'm going, sink or swim.

The papers do all come and are a treat and well worth their postage to me. The Sterns History did not come and it is too late now to send it, though I would have read much in it had it been here. Send me some more of those cheap Riverside Lakeside, etc. reprints of the best novels. I fear you will become worried by the delay or my last letter as you must have nearly a week yet to wait ere you receive it.

Harry

## MAY BUILD TO ENCAMPMENT THIS YEAR

The assurance comes from a private source that the Union Pacific will build to Grand Encampment this year. It is possible that the contracts will be awarded and work started within the next few weeks. The president of a large company that is spending about \$300,000 in Wyoming this season, extending their enterprise through the Grand Encampment and Battle Lake districts, said to the writer in Salt Lake on Monday: "I am in receipt of a letter from General Manager Dickinson of the Union Pacific which gives me the assurance that the development of Grand Encampment and Battle Lake will not be long retarded because of the lack of railroad facilities." Such an assurance would hardly be given unless it had been decided to build the line this year.

—*The Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August, 1900  
From *Rawlins Republican*

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## PUSH CONSTRUCTION INTO THE BIG HORN

The Burlington is pushing its work of construction from Toluca, Mont., towards Cody City in the Big Horn district, as rapidly as possible. The object is to get as much of the surface work done as is advisable before cold weather comes. Surface work cannot be handled with any degree of success during the winter months in the Northwest, but the heavy work, such as tunneling and blasting out ledges can be handled with little inconvenience.

Recently a large number of farmers have gone into the Big Horn Basin from all over the country and taken up land. The Government offered to give to the State of Wyoming a large area of land, provided it be put under irrigation by a certain time. That caused an extra effort on the part of Wyoming to get the land irrigated before the time expires. The date will be reached some time next year, and in the meantime ditches are being made throughout the Basin.

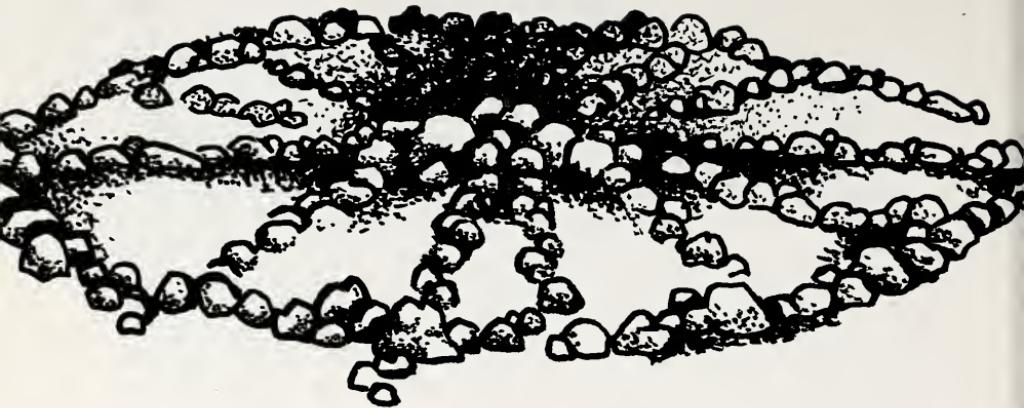
As soon as the Burlington gets its line down into the Basin it is believed that the whole territory ceded by the Government, or all that is fit for farming purposes, will soon be taken up and ditched.

—*The Wyoming Industrial Journal*, August, 1900

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The highest price paid for wool under sealed bids at the storage warehouse in Rawlins this season was 16½ cents a pound, while the minimum figure was 15¼ cents.

—*The Wyoming Industrial Journal*, July, 1900



# *Absaroka*

THE LAND  
AND  
PEOPLE



*By*  
C. LEE MILLS

*Sketches by*  
DAVID LAYMON

## Prologue:

The strong and lasting bands,  
So tightly wrought between  
Conglomerate of lands,  
Whose only binding mean  
Was people who are blest  
To occupy their space;  
And from this fact to wrest  
A title as a race.  
The race was known as Crow,  
Absaroka, the land.  
This land and people grow  
In well-knit marriage band.  
No land becomes a place  
Until its people make  
Some marks upon its face,  
And change in both does take.  
So with the marriage bed,  
It shapes its occupants,  
And as the two are wed  
Will change with all events.  
This land, this people, shy  
At change which shapes the two.  
Tomorrow's facts today are wry  
And both resent the new.  
Anticipation brings  
The sharpest pain of change,  
And mating living things  
Brings pain of utmost range.  
Except the blood is shed,  
Except the cost is paid,  
No mating can be said  
To forge a marriage made.  
So land and people came  
To mate, and felt the pain  
Of change, of fate, and name,  
But union did maintain.

Absaroka they called her, Home land of the Crows.  
A land made strong and awesome by her very size.  
She was no land for idle journeying, they built  
Her miles too long, and laid her mighty sinews far  
From seas, or rivers fit for sails. The quest of men  
From other worlds, who saw her changeful vastness first  
Could scarce believe their sight. John Colter's Hell they heard  
About, and laughed between their frequent cups

Of Taos lightning, as they counted plew, at fairs  
On rivers Bear and Green, in days of fancy furs.

From south to north one counts her three, divided twice  
By mountain ranges, high and difficult to cross.  
And yet, by river once and then by people twice,  
The banns were read, and she became Absaroka.

To start, the valley of the Wind, that wint'ring land  
Beneath protecting mountains, south by west, and clothed  
With nutrous grasses, watered well and wooded, too.  
And then the stream through canyon turns to reach the springs  
Of Washakie, and ancient lake beds dry and sere,  
Where run the Ten Sleep, the No Wood, and the Owl.  
The mighty Stinking Water and the lower streams  
Join to make a carving tide to tear the Big Horn range  
In two, to reach the Yellowstone, And over there  
To find a land of better soil, more deeply grassed.  
It is a land apart, divided in itself:  
The Wind, the Basin, and the Land Beyond, each gives  
A flavor to the whole.

There is precision fully built into the length  
And breadth of any land. The rocky coast, the deep  
Attenuated bays and harbors yield to sands  
And pleasant reaches of the easy welcome strands.  
But change from one to other comes as strictly fit  
As if an architect had drawn it with his rule.  
And all lands are drawn so; all in balanced care  
For tree and plain, for lake and river flow. No land  
May suffer change, from source however caused, without  
A shift in balance from this meaning symmetry.

So was it from the very start of Europe's flow  
Of conquest on this continent. The red man was  
A child of nature, living well within the ways  
Of nature's balance. Change of place he often made,  
But change in place did never once occur to him.  
Perhaps his paucity of numbers made his marks  
Upon the land so faint no eye of mind could trace.  
Perhaps some happy turn of personality  
Allowed his life and land to wed in amity.  
Such thoughts as these are for the ones who spin the webs  
And weave a meaning into history, beyond  
The sense of time. But all events make marks we see  
And know. Caucasian flow of life upon the land  
Made changes, bitten deep in root and patient soil,  
That seemed but waiting for Columbus' sail. This home  
Of Crows, this beautiful Absaroka, except  
For coming of the horse and changes that it made,  
No changes knew until the fur trade, fecund, felt the prod  
Of Lisa, and of Ashley's men, who came long miles

For beaver plew. Themselves they threw upon the scales  
Of balance, growing old by seasons, while the men  
At home grew rich.

But once the mark of fortune bold  
Was laid upon the land, the changes quickly showed,  
And once the change began, no hand of fate could hold  
The difference of posture for the land, or shift or  
Turn could stop the trend; no more the flying arrow bowed  
Could change direction to its targe. So was it that  
Though journey after journey seemed to meet defeat;  
Be floundered at a Mandan village, or turned back  
By Sioux or Ree hostility, the change was made.  
The beaver's fur, the bison's coat, the humble pelt  
Of muskrat, and the coyote's hide, became the gold  
That mounted high the fur trade fortunes of the world.  
The marts of Montreal, of London, Amsterdam,  
St. Louis and New York, all knew the size of catch  
That Lisa made; that Ashley brought down in the fall.

This land had had its changes wrought by clime,  
Recorded in its rocks, the scrivings marks of time:  
Now seas, now shore, now marsh, now trees, now plain.  
The marks so plainly called to mind, we now explain,  
By shells and bones, red cliffs and valleys tan,  
All speaking to the questring mind of man.  
But what she was and what her former way had been  
Was most indeed made true by the very bowel and bone  
And sinew of her being. She was no land for weak  
Or wayward lovers. To bed with her required a man  
Of heart, once giv'n ne'er withdrawn. Her clime was rough  
With heat and cold, with little moisture, bitter springs.  
No tinsel gold and silver marred her depth of worth,  
But seams of coal and pools of oil lay deep beneath her skin.  
That skin to touch was rough and prickly with stiff sage  
And cactus; with prairie dog, and rattler fanged  
To sting the careless and the weak. To bed with her  
A people must be strong and love her strength—her ups  
Of mountains, like no others in their brawny shoulders,  
With sky topped granite peaks back ranging.  
Her rimey sweat of alkali around the fetid sinks,  
Her rushing freshet streams, which thinned to trickles dim  
In summer's heat. To bed with her a man must feel  
The renal need to join his raging strength with hers.  
A love of giant powered strength or no love at all.

But seldom does the love of man without some aid  
From other than his own desires such heights attain;  
Some motive from the stars, some spark divine, some love  
Beyond his limping human will to wed the land.  
But what the Gods most need the Gods provide; and love

The spark divine, the added motive fire was lit,  
And man and land to fruitful marriage found the way.  
It happened so. Above the canyon black and sheer,  
Where the Big Horn river rived the Big Horn mountain range,  
Some worshippers, a thousand years ago, had built  
A giant wheel with cairns at point, in which a man  
Could make his peace with the Great Spirit of them all.  
And no man knows the name or time when this was done.  
Some venturer, some Toltec, or even Mayan race,  
So far from home and yet so high, not far from God,  
Stopped as they traced the backbone of the continent  
To worship and to meditate upon the acts of God.  
Nor did they leave a single trace of what or when,  
Or who it was who dared thus worship Him.

#### The Crow

Acutely prized the place and made his worship there.  
He never knew, perhaps he never cared, who made  
The place, who ranged the stones, received the grace,  
To make it such a sacred spot. But this he knew,  
Great Spirit spoke there, and he heard and was at peace,  
And when his final prayer was made and he was cleansed,  
He faced the sun and saw the Tongue begin its race  
To reach his cousins on the river far below.  
And at his back the crest broke sharply down a mile  
To level at the Basin floor, where Shell and Greybull meet  
The Horn. The gentler North was broken in its slow  
Descent by the canyon of the Horn so wild and dread:  
While south the peaks rose grandly to the sky, their heights  
No man would scale until the Paleface conquest came.  
And peace beyond his dream came down down upon him then  
As down to teepee comfort he returned; to life  
Of everyday, return to cares, to vigilance,  
To plans for war and peace: but stronger now because  
The Spirit spoke of strength and gave the Land to him.

#### When Verendrye, in forty-three,

Two centuries ago, first saw the Shining Mountains,  
The Crows were river people, round the lower Yellowstone.  
Before that time we scarcely know, except to say,  
They were Hidatsa cousins, kith and blood. The press  
Of movement from the east came more and more, and Crows  
Became a people divided in themselves: a part  
Remained the River Crows, a larger part moved west  
To wed Absaroka. This wedding of the land  
Of the people must have been no more than eighty years  
From the first movement of the tribes long years ago,  
When the Pilgrim landing first unsettled all the tribes.  
And life within that span or two, or three, of lives  
Before the pressing, battling, scourge of westing Sioux

Must surely set the mark of deeply powered love  
Upon this people. Strong they bred themselves, and strong  
Their spirit grew. But strength and weakness grew within  
The hearts of this most fortunate and gifted race.  
They knew no fear, yet pursuit of war became a game,  
And in a time and place where war was serious,  
They seemed to think it was for fun and not for hate.  
Yet mistake him not, he was no weakling for this view.  
This mind, the influence of this trait made him at once,  
A friend of men, and the finest horse thief in the west.  
The hates they bore were often tempered by a milk  
Of wisdom, rude justice, not yet reached by simpler folk,  
And not much seen in stone age culture. So they lived:  
More mannerly than most, yet caught between the top  
And bottom of their times. Or yet perhaps the fact  
Of separation gave them split of mind and heart.  
Perhaps their mystic history, scarce known but felt  
Unconsciously could make them different indeed.  
Perhaps still more, a legend rooted in their past  
Is often mentioned, with the telling indirect:  
What out and out they would not say, about a One,  
A Great One, without name, as is most proper now,  
Who was a woman, an Amazon of strength and will,  
No progeny had she, no line was left to rule.  
But in a culture built upon the male, this tribe  
Looked back to female founding. This fact alone  
Could make the difference of thought and changeful heart.

A land divided into three, a river with  
Two names: A biforated race of stone age men  
With less than simple make-up in their genes:  
This was the wedding, this the marriage carried out,  
To give Absaroka the name of land and race.

The signs of trapper's kill, the whole wide trek  
Of mountain men, seemed quite impossible to change  
A land so vast and variable as this, but change  
It did. First off, the harvest of the plew, that king  
Of furs, the lordly beaver's coat—an animal  
Of strange industrious habits he. He chose his home  
On stream and river course, and dammed them to his will,  
For ponds to house his homes and store his winter food.  
From mountain freshet down to slow and aimless streams  
Upon the plains, the aspen and the cottonwood  
Were groomed and trimmed to build his dams and make  
The bark that fed this saw-toothed mason of the streams.  
So wide spread were his labors that, before the traps,  
Scarce was a stream from mountain crest to ocean floor  
Without some damming in its course. The lakes and ponds  
Thus formed became a nature-built-in flood control.



That, once its loss was real, has immeasurably sent  
The floods of spring to annual destruction of  
The marge and borders of the river land.

Three facts

Of life controlled this land, from eastern forest green  
To mountain crest and intermountain valley land:  
The beaver, and the bands of roving Indians,  
And great humped bison grazing on the prairie sod.  
The beaver, and the bison long were planted there before  
The thoughts of man began to guess about their dates  
In time. The Indian but lately horsed, from stock  
That Coronado lost in time not long ago,  
Made little scratch upon the land. The beaver's tooth  
As we have seen, made fullest use of every drop  
Of scanty rain that fell upon the ground. This one  
Remaining factor was the mammoth, meaty cow,  
We call the bison. Nature seemed in joking mood  
When she designed this buffalo. A frame and weight



Too large to match the shortish spindly legs he had.  
His sense of smell was keen, his eyes scarce measured up  
To prairie distances. His biologic needs  
Seemed filled by strong fecundity, and herd instinct  
Far greater than his small brain would suggest.  
Of all the factors on the plain this herdful beast  
Was once the first one to be seen, and from his fall  
Would come the greatest change. For once the land was crossed.  
And roads came following close behind, the pasture lands  
For this vast herd were banded straight across  
Its annual migrant search for grass. This fording thwart  
Across their grazing flow, abetted by the greed  
Of slaughter, almost unbelievable, soon brought  
Within the single life of man, extinction to  
This prairie king. The beaver and bison both  
Were nature's well deveopled species, but they fell  
Before the traps and rifles made for men of greed.  
And thus by greed, and not intent, a way was made  
For cow and plow—sod shanties placed where poles  
Of teepees once had been. By cow alone the change  
Could not have come. The plow without the cow could not  
Prevail. But cow and plow and shanty came at once.  
These three together changed the whole mid-continent,  
And with it changed Absaroka.

And yet so strong

A land was this, that all the marks of marching men  
Could not obliterate the basic skeleton  
Of bone and structure laid beneath the drift  
Of wind, or rain, or snow, or man, or beast, or scratch  
Of plow, or dam, or city's waste. It was so strong  
That marks of prehistoric seas and shores are yet  
Apparent to the sight of those with knowledged eyes.  
And, strange as it may seem, this wide long view  
Has been enhanced and lambent made by that same wit  
For which we sigh, and whose changes we deplore.

These basins on the north and south of Owl Creek Range,  
Which splits the flow and makes the river into two:  
The Wind and Horn—one stream, but named as though  
Each one was single in itself; these basins large  
Could not be known as arms of ancient Bonneville,  
Until some plodding research man could find the shells  
And fossils bare, which mark the shores and deeps  
Of prehistoric lake—perhaps of ocean too.

Or take that strange arbitrament of waters' flow,  
Which one great oval sink sets down upon the crest  
Of waters of the continent. It has its length,  
Its major axis, footing where the mountains and  
The limping Popo Agie part their ways. For space

Of hundred miles along, and fifty miles across  
The drainage flow to neither ocean, but contains  
Itself within its oval bowl. The men who came  
This way, whatever their intent, were mazed to find  
Some streams that nowhere went. This strangeness sensed  
But never truly known until the tools of man,  
More accurate than the eye could measure out,  
described the depths and secrets of this land.  
A thousand other facts about this land now plain  
Were never guessed at 'til the white man came.  
Yet this wedding of the Crows, a tribal band,  
To wonderful Absaroka was just as right  
And bound as if these facts were known by brestling babes.



This was the marriage bed, the place where fate decreed  
That Crows and land should mate to give the place  
A name. As ever is it in our way of life,  
No mating is without the passage of a name.  
So from this bed arose both people and the land  
To answer to the lovely name, Absaroka.

Absaroka was rimmed  
By Blackfoot Piegan on the north, deep bitten  
By hatred for the favored people to their south.  
Shoshoni, Gros Ventre, and the Bannock names, to west  
Were carved on valleys wide, beyond the Pilot Knobs:  
Fair game when horse and maid called men in mating spring.  
The land, at south by west, soon petered into drought.  
It bred the Utes, scarce more than digger tribes.

But to the east, from Platte to way beyond the Milk,  
Hidatsa nations roamed. And with them other folk,  
But lately come from Arkansaw and Cimmeron.  
The very calling of their names brings starts and chills  
Of apprehension. All were peoples out of place,  
With prods and stings of wrongs, of old and fresh insults.  
The Tetons, Brule, Niobrara, Ogalala names,  
Minneconjou, Black Kettle, many peoples known as Sioux.  
And up along the Platte, and pushing north were  
Native Pawnees, traveling Cheyennes and Arapahoes.  
No hidden Crow teepee, no maid gone gathering wood  
Or digging prairie onions was safe alone from rape  
Of the wide marauding stealth from out that warlike east.  
Absaroka once a land serene, became  
A constant, shifting, striving battlefield.  
This people known as Crow are dimmed in mystery  
Before they lived above the Mandan villages.  
We only know them as a river valley tribe  
Who lived athwart the gaping mouth of Yellowstone.  
The clue of language puts them in the family  
With Sioux. Hidatsa people they. The tangled web  
Of Indian families of tribes—a guessing game  
At best. But language traits are of some use  
In telling who is what to whom. But what and who  
They were before the first initial push from east  
Was made, no guess is worth the taking. One could guess  
They were but poor relations on the western fringe  
Of older, stronger stock in Minnesota land.  
Perhaps more proudly heritaged, they moved before  
Our records mark the change. We find them in this place  
A gracious land which must have been more fruitful then  
Before the beaver's loss was felt. But as the weight  
Of greed for furs was felt the wood and grass and food  
Grew less and less.

It must have been a century  
Before the Great White Father bought the land from France,  
We do not know, we only guess the happenstance.  
But sure we know they would not move before the horse,  
The distances of big Absaroka so great,  
Were such that unhorsed people would not move to live  
There else their move was forced. This common fact must date  
The plains-wide movement of the tribes. But horses are  
Not native to America, and Spanish drives  
For gold and converts come not much before the time  
We choose. The necessary time for horse to move  
Out from these movements through the West would occupy  
Such time as we suggest.

## It is of interest

To note that while our mind's eye see the Plains  
Inhabited by Indian horsemen justly known,  
Yet Indian horse names, Cayuse, Appaloosa famed,  
Pinto come from ultra-montane tribes of horse and men  
Perhaps the fact of Coronado's loss of horse  
Was never quite so much a populating force,  
As was the steady trickle of enabling mounts  
To make the life of plains and buffalo secure.

But once the Crows were horsed, whenever time we know  
The place. Up stream they went to occupy the land.  
The Tongue and Powder, Rosebud too, small Goose Creeks clear,  
The Greasy Grass and Clark's Fork, all well before  
The Big and Little Horn were tapped. What Paradise  
Of water, grass and wood, of game from grouse to bear?  
No fecund land more welcome made to questing bands,  
No mating bed more satisfied a man's desire.

The life was season geared and rootless save the moves  
Made moon by moon for meat and berries, fur and grass.  
And yet for them the moves were not from want or need,  
For each new season brought its fruitful joy renewed.  
And when the moons of summer waned found valleys deep  
Up Wind, beneath the woods or in the edge of black  
And hooded hills. Or in the Basin up the streams  
That flowed from mountains to the west. Or yet  
If bolder on the Horn called Little, just outside  
The canyon's mouth, or over on the Rotten Grass.  
These places first would blossom with the teepee poles  
To greet the white of winter. Aspen and the great  
Boled cottonwood grew close, to eke the forage scarce  
With bark for painted cayuse when the snow lay deep.  
The pole travois had bent and slowly carried all  
Provisions for the appetites of men; the fruits and meats  
All dried and cured in their bags; the fatted mix  
That we call sausage was a pemmican for them.  
All these with creature comforts and the current kill  
Of elk and deer and antelope; a dog perhaps  
Should company arrive just as the bottom of  
The pot showed bare. It seems a harsh and dismal life  
But those who knew received its comforts and its joys.  
If luck held out—No cry of Sioux, no enemy  
From Niobrara's hills, no spotting dot upon  
The grim horizon's edge, and if the winter's want  
Did not draw the bellies tight beyond the constant need  
Of hunger, and wood and forage held, then moon  
Of spring would come. The first wild green of growth  
Would make the camp breath strong with onion and with sprouts  
Of all that slumbered through winter's snowy drouth.

The mares dropped colts, the litters then were whelped,  
And maids in nature's spring went trysting in the brush.  
It was a season to replenish all the warp and woof  
Made threadbare by tightly belted winter's lack.  
And as the Spring progressed the thawing snows swelled rill  
And river to the flood stage. It was a short space  
Of safety, when grass had not yet fleshed the horse,  
And flooding streams stopped well the swift marauder's raids.  
But soon the summer moons were shining down upon  
The plans of warrior and the hunt. The bison moved,  
The elk retreated to the mountains, and the busy time  
Was once more come. Raids and warfare, danger bright  
With deeds of skill and wonder. Young men counted coup,  
Old men told about the fire what deeds they did  
When they were young. Dandies dressed and women worked  
To dress their men. This was the clanging boastful time.  
Then once more moons of summer waned to chilling fall.

This was the blissful honeymoon of fruitfulness,  
Perhaps a space of years for three lives long,  
No matter just how many moons were passed content,  
With just enough of everything to make the tribe  
Both strong and wealthy in the things that counted there  
And then. But change was in the air, the sound of guns  
Became no stranger to the ear, the sight of men  
From far beyond the East, with wonders strangely tuned  
To make what was enough before seem small and short  
Of worth. New names and places far removed from what  
Had thrilled the camp not long ago. Un-rest and want  
In face of what was still the plenty of their lives.  
All red men faced this change. Most fought against the ones  
Who brought it to their times.

#### The Crows, because to seal

A horse was just as much a coup, no matter what,  
As was the scalping of an enemy—for them the game  
Was war not hate; the Crows continued on to steal  
But seldom fought except for joy of fighting, so  
The tribal name became a pleasure to the whites.

Perhaps their long years spent in sheltered spots  
Beyond the ordinary tracks of men, Perhaps,  
Who knows? Except to say that on the plains and out  
Beyond in mountains, basins, deserts, trackless miles,  
This favored people, and this favored land and place became  
A home for wintering fur men and for their traps.



Photo Courtesy of Kansas State Historical Society

**ARAPAHO INDIANS SMOKING IN COUNCIL**

This sketch is by Theodore R. Davis, *Harper's Weekly*, June 29, 1867.



Photo Courtesy of Division of Manuscripts,  
University of Oklahoma Library

**SOUTHERN ARAPAHOES IN COUNCIL NEAR  
COLONY, OKLAHOMA**

This photograph was taken by E. E. Palmer in 1894.

# *Arapahoes in Council*

*By*

VIRGINIA COLE TRENHOLM

In prereservation days, no Indian council was complete without the sharing of the calumet. Smoke from campfire and pipe alike wafted messages upward to the Great Spirit and assured His blessing on treaties which were too often broken.

Theodore R. Davis, who had been an artist-correspondent during the Civil War, caught the spirit of the occasion when he sketched General Winfield Scott Hancock's 1867 council with the Arapahoes at Fort Dodge. Davis was with the force of 1400 men, said to have been the largest that had ever been sent against the Southern Plains tribes up to that time.

The artist did not identify the Indians in his historic sketch, but the bearclaw necklace—a mark of distinction—and the position next to the General indicate that Little Raven, chief of the Southern Arapahoes, holds the pipe. During the years the Arapahoes claimed Colorado as their heartland, the chief's favorite campsite was on Cherry Creek, where Denver now stands. It was here that he was host to Albert D. Richardson, of the *Boston Journal*; Henry Villard, newspaperman and later president of the Northern Pacific Railroad; and Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*. All were leading journalists of their time.

Richardson considered Little Raven, with his "manly form and human, trustworthy face, the nearest approximation of an ideal Indian" he had ever met. Villard, who was present at the dinner given in the chief's honor after an unofficial peace agreement was reached (May 25, 1859), called him "a very sensible and friendly disposed man." He observed that "he handled his knife and fork and smoked his cigar like a white man." Greeley, who found it easier to converse with the English-speaking Left Hand, a lesser chief, spoke of the Arapaho as shrewd in his way and "every bit as conservative as Boston's Beacon Street or our Fifth Avenue."

According to Government Documents, Little Raven's companions at the Fort Dodge council were Yellow Bear, Beardy (both Southern Arapaho band chiefs), and Cut Nose, the Northern Arapaho head chief who surpassed all others in his eloquence at the Horse Creek Council in 1851. While smoke exudes from his mouth, Cut Nose, to the right of Little Raven, taps his left breast, the tribal sign of the Northern Arapahoes. It signifies "Good Hearts," "Mother Tribe," or "Mother People." The Northern bands enjoyed this distinction because they were keepers of the Sacred Pipe, which is said to have come to their nation when the

world began. The tribal fetish is still safely guarded by the Northern Arapahoes on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

The remarks of artist Davis are as revealing as the picture. In *Harper's Weekly*, June 29, 1867, he describes the ritual of "the smoke" as he observed it at the council. The half-circle, he explains, was formed from west to east, with all faces toward the south. The pipe, after being lighted by the owner, was passed to the person at the east end of the line. After receiving it, he made several motions peculiar to himself, took one puff, which he blew toward the resting-place of the Great Spirit, and two or three rapid puffs, which he inhaled. Then he passed the pipe to his neighbor, who at once went through his peculiar motion or sign, and smoked his allotted number of times before passing it on to his right.

Meanwhile each smoker sat perfectly quiet, with smoke curling slowly from his nose and mouth. When the pipe reached the last man, it was handed back to the eastern end of the semicircle, and the smoking commenced again. The lighted pipe followed the direction of the sun.

The pipe was loaded with "a fragrant preparation of sumach leaves, willow bark, sage leaf and tobacco, the whole saturated with some preparation made from the marrow taken from buffalo bones." This, he might have added, was the mixture preferred by the Southern Arapahoes, who now reside in western Oklahoma. The Northern bands used kinnikinnick and tobacco.

Davis seemed unaware that four puffs were necessary each time and that the pipe had to be passed exactly four times. To the Arapahoes, who had always adhered to ritualistic form, four was the magic number. It represented "the four old men," the four winds, or the directions.

By 1894, when the accompanying picture was taken of a Southern Arapaho council, the Indian's way of life had been disrupted and acculturation was strongly marked. The white man's influence is apparent from the chairs to the clothing worn by those present. Gone were the blankets, the bows and arrows, the meticulous half-circle. Gone, too, was "the smoke" which had been a part of the Indian's cultural heritage.

# *The Meaning of the Name Sacajawea*

By

DAVID L. SHAUL

Just as there are two schools of thought accounting for the date and place of Sacajawea's death, there are two opposing translations of her name. One form, spelled as Tsakakawea or Sakakawea, is derived from two words meaning "bird woman" in the Hidatsa language. Another form of the name, spelled Sacajawea, means "boat launcher" in the Shoshone tongue. This article will discuss the validity of both translations and their relationship to the theories concerning their famous owner's demise.

The "South Dakota theory," which maintains Sacajawea died at Fort Manuel, South Dakota, in 1812,<sup>1</sup> has come to be associated with the Hidatsa interpretation, because the Hidatsa lived in the Dakotas. Likewise, the "Wyoming theory," which holds that Sacajawea was buried at Fort Washakie, Wyoming, in 1885,<sup>2</sup> has become linked with the Shoshone translation of the name, since the Wyoming Shoshones were Sacajawea's original tribe. Even though the meaning(s) of Sacajawea's name prove(s) nothing about her death, the supporters of both the Wyoming and South Dakota theories have adopted the derivations of "Sacajawea" as corollaries to their respective opinions.

Dr. Grace R. Hebard firmly states in *Sacajawea, Guide of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* that the spelling of Sacajawea Peak in Wyoming was based on ". . . the spelling of Lewis' and Clark's original journals, and on the mistaken assumption that Sacajawea was a Hidatsa name meaning Bird Woman, a conclusion not here accepted."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hebard felt the uniquely Shoshone derivation of the name so important to her theories concerning Sacajawea's later life, that she wrote nine pages in support of it.

Dr. Hebard's main reasoning against the Hidatsa version was: "Sacajawea is a pure Shoshone name and consequently could not

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1. Virginia Cole Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis, Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 220.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Grace R. Hebard, *Sacajawea, Guide of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933), p. 290.

have been given at the Mandan villages.”<sup>4</sup> She gave linguistic support for the Shoshone, but she ignored the possibility that Sacajawea, as a captive among the Hidatsa, would have been given a name of that tribe, since neither her husband (Toussaint Charbonneau) nor her Hidatsa neighbors could speak Shoshone. It is also logical that the woman’s Hidatsa name would have been given to Lewis and Clark, for the same reason.

At this point it should be stated that both derivations may be substantiated by impartial reference to sources on the respective languages, and we will begin with Hidatsa. In *Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, we find the following statement: “Names of females often . . . end with mia miis (wiis), all of which mean *woman*. Ex. . . tsakakawiis, *Bird-Woman*, . . .”<sup>5</sup> Splitting this in two, we get *tsakaka* (bird), and *-wiis*. This later element is appended to the end of a woman’s name, and comes from the root *mia* (*wia,bia*). The sounds m, w, and b are equivalent in Hidatsa<sup>6</sup> and the closely related Crow.<sup>7</sup> (This is why Lewis writes “Sah-ca-gee-me-ah” on August 17, 1805, instead of the usual “-we-ah.”)

The Shoshone derivation of “Sacajawea” is analyzed by the Reverend John Roberts, the late missionary to the Wind River (Wyoming) Shoshones, as follows: “‘Sac’ is boat, canoe, or raft; ‘a’ is the; ‘ja-we,’ launcher . . .”<sup>8</sup> The first element is easily verified by citations from early vocabularies: *sock* (boat),<sup>9</sup> *schake* (boat/canoe),<sup>10</sup> and *-shuk* (boat).<sup>11</sup>

The definite article (Roberts’ second element) in Shoshone is not suffixed *-a*, but rather an *m*-, *n*- or *ng*- prefixed to the noun.<sup>12</sup> The second *a* in *saca* is the objective suffix,<sup>13</sup> indicating that *sac* is the object of the verb *jawe*, meaning “to throw/cast.”<sup>14</sup> (Direct

4. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

5. Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, Miscellaneous Publication No. 7, U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey (Washington, D. C.: 1877), p. 98.

6. Dorothea V. Kaschube, *Structural Elements of the Language of the Crow Indians of Montana*, University of Colorado Studies in Anthropology No. 14 (Boulder: 1967), pp. 7-8.

7. Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 90.

8. Hebard, *op. cit.* pp. 288-289.

9. Joseph A. Gebow, *A Vocabulary of the Snake or Shoshone Dialect* (Salt Lake City: 1859), p. 11.

10. J. C. E. Buschmann, *Die Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache im Nördlichen Mexico und Hoheren Amerikanischen Norden* (Berlin: 1859).

11. John Wesley Powell, “Gosiute Vocabulary and Grammatical Notes,” MS, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

12. D. B. Shimkin, “Shoshone II: Morpheme List,” *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 15, No. 4, (October, 1949), p. 209.

13. Wick R. Miller, “Grammatical Notes . . . for the Short Course in Shoshoni Offered by Wick R. Miller, Fall, 1968,” University of Utah, 1968, p. 2.

14. Shimkin, *op. cit.* p. 211.

objects stand before the verb in Shoshone.<sup>15</sup>) We may now revise Roberts' analysis:

Sac	-a	jawe	a
Boat/canoe	object suffix	throw/cast	?

The only problem is that the Shoshones do not pronounce the *a* after *jawe*. "The last 'a' is silent, although we on the reservation pronounce all the syllables including the last one, stressing 'jah.'"<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, the Hidatsa do pronounce the final *a*, and Lewis and Clark must have heard one, or they wouldn't have written one. Helen Crawford, a proponent of the South Dakota theory, cites the following ways Sacajawea is spelled in the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, 1904):

Sah-cah-gar	we-ah
Sah-cah-gah	we a
Sah-cah-gar	Wea. <sup>17</sup>

The decisive evidence in favor of the Hidatsa derivation is a *Journals* entry by Lewis for May 20, 1805: "this stream we called Sah-ca-ger we-ah (Sah ca gah we a) or bird woman's River, after our interpreter the Snake woman."<sup>18</sup>

Yet we can't ignore the fact that the Shoshone interpretation of the name is valid. In *Winged Moccasins* (New York, 1954), a fictional biography of Sacajawea, Frances Joyce Farnsworth tries to rectify this antithesis in the following way:

"My name has no part of it," answered Sacajawea firmly. "My mother has told me about my name. It is motion. She gave it in the sign language when I was very young. Whether it is of a flying bird or a boat being launched does not matter."<sup>19</sup>

Such an explanation is clever, but not factual.

Elwyn B. Robinson, in *History of South Dakota*, gives a more realistic solution.

"Sacajawea" is Shoshone for "Boat Launcher" and has nothing to do with "Sakakawea," which is Hidatsa for "Bird Woman."<sup>20</sup>

15. D. B. Shimkin, "Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (July, 1945), p. 177.

16. Quotation attributed to the Reverend John Roberts, in Hebard, *op. cit.* p. 289.

17. Helen Crawford, "Sakakawea," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (April, 1927).

18. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, Vol. 2, (New York: 1904), p. 52.

19. Frances Joyce Farnsworth, *Winged Moccasins*, (New York: Julian Messner, 1954).

20. Elwyn B. Robinson, *History of North Dakota* (Lincoln, Nebraska: 1966), p. 44.

This appraisal of the situation is more in keeping with the evidence considered here, yet it does not seem that the closeness of the two names is pure coincidence. Perhaps the Shoshones, aware of the Hidatsa name of their famous daughter, approximated it in their own tongue, not merely imitating the sound, but giving it the meaning so necessary for an Indian name.<sup>21</sup> It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that the Hidatsa would have given their captive a name approximating her Shoshone name, since she was of comparatively little importance to them, being a female captive, and since they were ignorant of her native language.

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21. It has been conjectured that the Shoshone name was commemorative.

# *History of Teton County*

*By*

GLENN R. BURKES

(Conclusion)

(The reader is reminded that references to the present or the future throughout this manuscript relate to 1968, when the thesis was compiled, and not to 1972, by which time some of the projected plans have been completed and other changes have occurred.  
*Editor.*)

## THE LAND ISSUE

It should by now be obvious that Teton County has been the scene for considerably more than its fair share of controversy. Up to this point, however, emphasis has been placed on those problems relating to the earlier phases of exploration, law enforcement, political organization, and, of course, wildlife management. Most of these issues have been satisfactorily handled and have long since ceased to stir even a token amount of controversy. Elk management is a partial exception to this, although there are no current management problems which appear to be unsurmountable; more about the county's ubiquitous elk later.

The land itself has been the source of Teton County's most bitter controversy since John Colter first revealed to the outside world the wonders of the area. The unequaled beauty of the Tetons and the surrounding mountains, dense forests, shimmering lakes, and crystal clear, rushing mountain streams have been the real culprits. Three generations have now fought over how and by whom this rugged area is to be utilized and best enjoyed.

It is something of a mystery, in view of the interest which the Tetons later generated, that the initial creation of Yellowstone Park did not extend farther south, to include the Teton Range and Jackson Hole. As early as 1898 the superintendent of Yellowstone Park recommended that 800,000 acres to the south be added to the park. The people living in the area, though few in number, made clear their intentions of holding the area, and the proposition apparently gained very little support. Meanwhile, the entire area south of the park, including the Tetons and Jackson Hole, had been designated as the Yellowstone Timber Stands Reserve. President Benjamin Harrison accomplished this by presidential proclamation in 1891. In 1907 the Teton Forest Reserve was created from the entire forest area draining into Jackson Hole; the opposition to this

move was very slight. The following year, the same area became Teton National Forest.

The first real controversy over management of land and water resources in Jackson Hole developed about 1905 or 1906. The question of damming Jackson Lake,<sup>1</sup> a natural body of water, was hotly debated at that time.<sup>2</sup> Advocates of park extension were relatively quiescent until 1919, when U. S. Representative Frank Mondell (R-Wyo) introduced a bill in the House to extend Yellowstone Park south to the Buffalo River. The bill passed the House, and possibly would have been passed by the Senate, but for the vigorous opposition of Senator Nugent of Idaho. Nugent mistakenly interpreted the proposed extension to include some of Idaho's prime sheep range, hence his action in opposition. The bill came so close to becoming law, however, that the opposition back in Wyoming was moved to action. Enough of the dude ranchers in Jackson Hole were fearful of losing their territory, and therefore their livelihood, to enlist sympathy for their cause. The fight was taken up in the state legislature, where a resolution was adopted opposing any extension of Yellowstone Park.

The early local opposition to making a park out of the Teton country was, from the beginning, accompanied by a substantial number of people who were favorable to such a proposition. For one thing, it is hardly likely that Congressman Mondell's 1919 bill was solely his own brainstorm; though it is hard to say just how much support his proposal enjoyed in Jackson Hole.

By 1923 several of Jackson Hole's more prominent citizens were advocating action which would somehow preserve at least the northern portion of Jackson Hole for posterity. They were prompted, no doubt, by attempts to commercialize the lakes of the valley for irrigation purposes, and the recent near-ruination of beautiful Jackson Lake for the same purpose. On July 26, 1923, a step was taken which led directly to the formulation of the later, much-discussed, "Jackson Hole Plan." On that day, Struthers Burt, Richard Winger, Dr. Horace Carncross, Joseph R. Jones and John L. Enyon met Superintendent Horace Albright of Yellowstone Park in Maude Noble's cabin at Menor's Ferry. They presented Superintendent Albright with a plan to add the above area to Yellowstone Park.<sup>3</sup> The idea was to buy up the private land concerned, the financial backing for which would, hopefully, come from eastern businessmen and sportsmen who had vacationed in Jackson Hole.

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1. Jackson Lake was called "Lake Biddle" by William Clark on his 1810 map; "Teton Lake" by Warren Ferris; and "Lewis Lake" by Joe Meek.

2. Jackson Lake was finally dammed in 1916, primarily to provide Idaho farmers with irrigation water.

3. *Sheridan Journal*, November 4, 1930.

Attempts to raise funds ended in failure, however, and the project remained dormant for some time.

A new ray of hope for park-minded people appeared in 1926. That summer John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his family toured Yellowstone Park, always a favorite spot for the Rockefellers. As Albright personally guided Rockefeller around the area, he remembered that day at Maude Noble's cabin in 1923, and the abortive results. Although Albright later stated that he never at any time asked Rockefeller for his support, he admitted that he did mention the meeting which had occurred three years earlier.<sup>4</sup> In driving through Jackson Hole, Rockefeller reportedly found that "the roadsides were littered with billboards, ramshackle buildings, and abandoned farmhouses."<sup>5</sup> One informed individual states that Rockefeller was also alarmed at the plight of the long-suffering elk, which he saw as much the victims of indiscreet fencing, as severe winters, and decided to do something about it.<sup>6</sup>

Whatever Rockefeller's motives may have been, he did decide to do something about it. It is hard to imagine that Rockefeller could have had a realistic idea of just what a Pandora's box of nightmares he was opening when he later told Albright that he planned to take positive action.

Rockefeller's plan, which had the wholehearted support of Albright, was to purchase a large portion of the private land in the northern part of Jackson Hole for presentation to the federal government at a later date. He specifically hoped that it would be added to Yellowstone Park. Future visitors, he reasoned, would then be guaranteed a clean, uncommercialized view of the majestic Tetons from the valley itself. In 1927 he implemented plans to begin buying land from the private owners in the area. This was accomplished by the creation of the Snake River Land Company. Rockefeller made \$1,000,000 available for this project. Kenneth Chorley and Vanderbilt Webb were Rockefeller's representatives in the land program. Harold P. Fabian, from the firm of Fabian & Clendenin, Salt Lake City, Utah, was Rockefeller's western legal agent. The Snake River Land Company was incorporated under the laws of Utah, with Webb and Fabian as president and vice-president, respectively. Robert E. Miller, Jackson banker, was purchasing agent, and land purchases began the same year. P. W. Spaulding of Evanston, Wyoming was Miller's legal assistant.

The land purchasing went smoothly for the most part, and

4. Raymond B. Fosdick, *John D. Rockefeller, Jr.: A Portrait* (New York: Harper, 1956), p. 311.

5. *Ibid.* Several Jackson Hole residents today believe that, although Rockefeller probably had an accurate vision of what would have happened later, the beauty of the landscape had not been marred in 1926.

6. Governor Leslie Miller, Private Interview, Cheyenne, Wyoming. April, 1966.

Robert E. Miller continued buying land throughout the Jackson Hole area until July, 1929. The source of the purchase funds was not divulged, and Rockefeller's connection with the company was one of history's most carefully guarded secrets. Even Fabian, who was vice-president of the Snake River Land Company, was ignorant of the source of the purchase funds, and Rockefeller's association with the business, for over a year after purchasing had begun! To just what extent the other officials of the company were aware of their true employer's role is hard to determine. At any rate, in July, 1929, Richard Winger was hired to conduct purchases west of the Snake River. On January 1, 1930, Winger assumed full command of buying operations, and Miller severed connections with the Snake River Land Company.

Why Miller quit the company is open to question. It has been suggested that he was used as a purchasing agent only until after he had acquired the land which was under mortgage to his bank.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps he became disenchanted with the clandestine manner in which purchases were being made. Or perhaps his experience as a former supervisor in the U. S. Forest Service, policies of which are sometimes in conflict with those of the Park Service, influenced his decision to leave a company which was buying land for inclusion in a park. Whatever Miller's reasons may have been, it is somewhat ironic that he later became not only a vociferous critic of Rockefeller's land program, but emerged as one of the opposition's most influential leaders.

Interestingly enough, while the Snake River Land Company was feverishly buying Jackson Hole farm and ranch land for addition to Yellowstone Park, another closely related, though distinguishably different movement was keeping pace. This was the drive by interested local citizens, spearheaded by the same people who had met in Maude Noble's cabin in 1923, to create a separate park encompassing the Teton Mountains themselves. It was related to the Rockefeller program, since much of the local support is traceable to the same individuals, with Albright lending encouragement to both projects. It was quite different, however, since a park created from the mountain peaks involved only Forest Service land (most of it not even suitable for livestock grazing) not private land, creation.

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7. Almer Nelson, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, June, 1966. Olaus Murie, in *Wapiti Wilderness* (New York: Knopf, 1966) p. 120 has this to say: "For some reason Rockefeller selected a new purchasing agent. And that changed the whole climate of the valley. From that moment on, the banker and all his associates, many of them cattlemen, were bitterly opposed to the Jackson Hole Plan. They now seemed to see in it the ruin of the cattle business and all freedom of enterprise in Jackson Hole. The plan did not take in the whole valley, but they felt they could not trust the forces behind it; they felt there were Park Service people who wanted everything 'rim to rim.'"

thereby weakening the standard arguments of the local opposition. Furthermore, even though Rockefeller was certainly favorable to the proposed new park, he did not provide the impetus for its

In conjunction with the Grand Teton National Park proposal, a subcommittee of the Senate Public Lands Committee met in Jackson Hole during July, 1928. Senator John Kendrick (D-Wyo) as well as the ever-present Superintendent Albright, attended. Also in attendance at the well-advertised public meeting were 77 residents of Jackson Hole. When these people were asked to cast an informal vote on park status for the Tetons, the score ran 76 to 1 in favor.

Bolstered by what appeared to be an unchallengeable local mandate, in the 1928-1929 session of Congress, Senator Kendrick agreed to sponsor a bill to create a park apart from Yellowstone. Albright, understood to represent the Park Service's official position, assured Kendrick that no further extension efforts would be made.<sup>8</sup>

The new 96,000 acre park did not arouse a great deal of resentment, probably because most people saw its existence as good advertisement for Teton County. Furthermore, management regulations were lenient, to say the least: the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission continued to control the wildlife; area landowners were allowed grazing rights in suitable areas; local citizens were permitted to use dead and down timber; and existing claims for homesteads, minerals, and rights-of-way were even recognized.<sup>9</sup> Long before the establishment of Grand Teton National Park, considerable friction had prevailed between the Park Service and Forest Service on the area's administration; and the liberal regulations governing Grand Teton National Park's management are suggestive of a tempering of the former's pure preservation philosophy, if not an outright adoption of the multiple-usage philosophy of the latter.<sup>10</sup> The newly created park was generally well accepted, although some of the cattlemen were apprehensive. The cattlemen of Wyoming had characteristically opposed park extension as the issue began to creep into state politics during the 1920s, and the Wyoming Stock Growers Association was pretty consistently

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8. Governor Clifford Hansen, Private Interview, Cheyenne, Wyoming, April, 1966. Later, when park extension efforts not only failed to cease, but were actually intensified, many local people became very irate about Albright's 1929 assurances. The opposition did not generally blame Kendrick, but merely saw him as another of Albright's victims.

9. Dwight M. Blood, Floyd K. Harmston and G. R. Rajender, *A Study of the Resources, People, and Economy of Teton County* (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1967), p. 14.

10. Fosdick, *op. cit.*, p. 310. National parks have usually been created from Forest Service lands, a fact which has caused resentment in the Forest Service. Also, the philosophies of the two services differ greatly, and this has not helped matters.

hostile to the whole concept.<sup>11</sup> In 1929, however, the issue was still more a Teton County issue than a state issue; and on the surface, the creation of a new park almost solely from jagged mountain peaks, which promised an administration by a liberal set of rules, not so different from the customary Forest Service regulations, must have given the whole package a rather innocuous appearance.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was simultaneously buying land, through the Snake River Land Company, for inclusion in Yellowstone Park. These plans were still a closely guarded secret, however, when Grand Teton National Park was dedicated.

In 1930, Governor Frank C. Emerson urged the Snake River Land Company to make its plans public and explain their intentions to the people.<sup>12</sup> In April, 1930, the company gave the public the complete picture, Rockefeller's connection not excluded. Company officials explained that Mr. Rockefeller had by choice customarily remained anonymous in such ventures in order to avoid publicity; also, that it was just good business for a man of Rockefeller's known financial means to work anonymously in a project of this type in order to keep prices from skyrocketing, and to prevent massive land speculation.

Emotions ran high. Some local people felt deceived simply because of the secrecy involved. Some were no doubt angry when it became obvious that they probably could have asked more for their land and gotten it. Furthermore, they now felt duped by Albright's assurances the previous year that the Park Service was interested only in the Teton Mountains themselves. Also, it seemed certain that the transfer of a large amount of private land to the federal government would wreak havoc with the county tax structure.

To further heighten the apprehension of local residents, the meeting of a Senate Special Committee on Wildlife Resources at Moran that same year had ominous overtones. At this meeting, W. C. Deloney, J. L. Enyon, J. D. Ferrin, and Richard Winger proposed the now famous "Jackson Hole Plan." This plan proposed that the existing Grand Teton National Park be extended east across the Snake River and include Rockefeller's land (by then in the neighborhood of 30,000 acres), plus a very large amount of Forest Service territory. The committee enthusiastically approved.

The Wyoming Game and Fish Commission was by now becoming worried. What would happen to the elk if the entire area were put in a national park where hunter pressure could not be used to

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11. Miller interview, *op. cit.*

12. In December of 1927 the company explained the project to Wyoming's representatives in Congress and to the governor; but Rockefeller's role was not mentioned.

help control the herd? What about the state's right to manage and control its wildlife? Many local citizens could still remember when the U. S. Supreme Court had upheld the state when the threat was still from the Indians. Now the government itself seemed to be trying to infringe on the state's right to manage its wild game. Sharing the burden with the federal government of feeding the elk in winter was one thing, but the proposed new change in management status was something else. Also, the cattlemen now felt that their apprehension throughout the move to create Grand Teton National Park was soundly based indeed.

In November, 1930 the Sheridan *Journal* published Albright's feelings on the subject: "Grand Teton National Park was created in the spring of 1929 and its eastern boundaries were known at the time to be rather temporary, based on the pendency of the other project [the Jackson Hole Plan.]"<sup>13</sup> Albright further stated that before the creation of Grand Teton National Park, a petition was circulated among the residents of Jackson Hole which, in his words, "a large majority signed." This, he alleged, was evidence that the people wanted a park, and were willing to cooperate in creating one. The following is the petition as it appeared in Albright's statement:

We believe that the entire Jackson Hole area should be set aside as a recreation area, or should be administered as a recreation area through whatever agency, state or national, is considered best fitted to do it. In this connection, we wish to point out that under the present administration of the public domain here, which is by the Forest Service, we are confronted by a policy which works to the detriment of stock raising without definitely turning the country over to wildlife and recreation.

We have tried stock-raising and from our experiences have become of the firm belief that this region will find its highest use as a playground, and in this way will eventually become the greatest wealth-producing region of the state. The destiny of the Jackson Hole country is as a recreation area, typical of the West, for the education and enjoyment of the nation as a whole. It is inevitable that it shall someday become such a region, and we favor a definite setting aside of the country at one time, rather than piecemeal, to its recreational purpose. We will be willing to not only cooperate in every way toward the realization of this big step, but we will at any time, in the furtherance of it, sell our ranches for what we consider a fair price.<sup>14</sup>

A copy of the original, signed petition is not available. It is quite possible that a large number of people might have signed such a document. It is also just as possible that if they did, many of them were indignant when the complete activities of the Snake River Land Company were made public.

By 1931, the whole park issue in Teton County was so fraught

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13. *Sheridan Journal*, November 4, 1930.

14. *Ibid.*

with controversy that the House Appropriations Committee had cut off appropriations for the already existing Grand Teton National Park, except for a minimal fund for road maintenance and park protection. The following year saw the beginning of legislative action to try to settle the land controversy. In June, 1932, Senators Kendrick and Robert D. Carey (R-Wyo) introduced a resolution (Senate Resolution 226) to investigate the activities of the Snake River Land Company and the National Park Service. The resolution was approved the following February and a committee was appointed. Rockefeller, who was certain that nothing illegal would be unearthed, welcomed the senate investigation as a means of clearing the air.

Hearings were conducted in Jackson Hole in August, 1933. A total of 39 witnesses were called to testify. It was discovered that the Snake River Land Company had purchased over 32,000 acres of private land, at an average price of almost \$40 per acre.<sup>15</sup> This price was above the average going price for land in Jackson Hole at that time. Nobody testified that he had been swindled or underpaid for his land. Tales of many kinds made the rounds concerning threats made to landowners who were reluctant to sell, burned buildings, and other types of unethical activities. It was even rumored that there might be a connection between the Snake River Land Company and the General Land Office in Washington, D. C. There was no evidence to support any of these allegations, however, and both the Snake River Land Company, and the Park Service were given a clean bill of health by the committee. Rockefeller's only real mistake (and this was certainly not an illegal one) seemed to be the cloak-and-dagger secrecy which characterized his land buying operations.

There is little doubt that many of the people of Jackson Hole were eager to sell their land. The generally poor condition of the American farmer and rancher in the 1920s, even before the general crash hit in 1929, was reflected to an even greater degree in Teton County than elsewhere and was a normal economic circumstance there. Because of the area's short growing season, high elevation, severe winters, and remote location, even the better land was little more than marginal when used for agricultural purposes. Livestock had to be fed expensive feed throughout the greater part of the year. Stock feed which was shipped into the area, or farm and ranch products which were shipped out, had to be moved without good highways or a railroad system. Even the historically poor roads into the valley were closed throughout much of the year, and were not the greatest in the West even when open. In short, until recent years, life in Jackson Hole was a pioneer experience. The

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15. Joanne M. Kuczrwska, "History of the Jackson Hole Plan" (Unpublished Plan B Paper, University of Wyoming, 1960), p. 8.

valley has a history of poverty rivaled only by the most depressed areas of Appalachia. Several long-time residents of Jackson Hole stated recently that the Great Depression did not noticeably affect Teton County for several years after the crash, and that when it did its effects were relatively light; this, they believe, was because of the area's isolation and extremely primitive economic structure.<sup>16</sup> Before the advent of the Snake River Land Company, land had not been an easy commodity to sell. For example, one prominent Teton County real estate agent recently said that during the first decade of this century, land sold for under \$10 per acre in Jackson Hole, and that land at that time was not acceptable collateral for a bank loan!<sup>17</sup> In view of the prevailing economic situation in Teton County in the 1920s, it seems logical to believe, then, that Rockefeller did several families a favor.

Senator Clifford P. Hansen (R-Wyo), whose family strongly opposed Park extension from the beginning, today believes that John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was the person with the foresight and vision, and that Rockefeller's motives and actions were completely unselfish. Senator Hansen thinks less highly of the actions of some of the federal officials involved in park extension, however. He points out, for example, that Superintendent Woodring of Grand Teton National Park once had a survey crew working up the west side of the Snake River from Wilson north. This suggestion of a new highway which would bypass Jackson was presumably calculated to put those citizens of the area who opposed extension in a more flexible frame of mind. Senator Hansen also states that there were cases where rural mail routes were suddenly changed, post offices cancelled, and road construction stopped, again presumably to bring pressure to bear on uncooperative residents. Also, better roads would have increased tourist travel, which in turn would have driven land prices upward.<sup>18</sup>

The 1933 senate investigation, which failed to expose corrupt practices on the part of any party or agency concerned, and which served to demonstrate that many of the local people did still favor park extension, produced a rather ironic result. Senator Carey, who had clamored for the 1933 investigation, all the while suggesting a scandal of "Teapot Dome" proportions, apparently was converted to the cause of park extension. On May 28, 1934, he introduced a bill in the Senate which would have added 260,000 more acres to Grand Teton National Park! It passed the Senate, and only an adjournment of Congress prevented further action.

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16. George Kelly, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, April, 1966; and Noble Gregory, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, April, 1966.

17. Michael Yokel, Private Interview, Wilson, Wyoming, December, 1966.

18. Hansen, interview, *op. cit.*

Again in 1935 Senators Carey and O'Mahoney introduced a bill to extend the Park, but it languished and died. Thus, the hotly debated issue lingered throughout the 1930s—investigations, accusations, rumors, attempted settlement, attempted legislation—a seemingly endless struggle. The favorable legislation attempts were no doubt due in part to the influence of Leslie A. Miller, Democratic governor of Wyoming (1933-1939), who had consistently favored park extension. Governor Miller believed, in fact, that his support of Rockefeller and the Park Service cost him the election of 1938.<sup>19</sup>

The upshot of all this was that a bitter rift developed among the people of Teton County, placing them in two separate camps on the issue of park extension; Rockefeller was left to pay taxes on 32,000 acres of land which his intended recipient, the United States, was unable or unwilling to accept; Wyoming's representatives in Congress were confused and uncertain as to the true wishes of their Teton County constituents; and the congressional colleagues of Wyoming's representatives were bewildered by the inconsistent and sometimes seemingly contradictory posture of their harried associates from Wyoming, whenever the park extension issue reared its controversial head.

Eventually, Rockefeller grew weary of government inactivity and the colossal tax burden which resulted from his Teton County lands. In 1942 he wrote Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes that if the government did not find a way to accept his gift (which up to that time had cost him roughly \$1.5 million) within a year, he would dispose of it to any satisfactory buyer. Ickes was by now certain that a park extension bill would never be passed in Congress. He also understood how Rockefeller's extraordinary patience could be wearing thin after 15 years of frustration. In short, Ickes believed this to be truly the last chance. The secretary advised Franklin D. Roosevelt of the situation, and it was called to the president's attention that by the provisions of the 1906 Antiquities Act, national monuments, unlike national parks, could be created by executive order.

On March 16, 1943, President Roosevelt established Grand Teton National Monument by executive order. It consisted of 221,610 acres of land bordering the Park on the east, including 32,117 acres of Rockefeller land and 17,000 acres of private land within the monument.<sup>20</sup>

If the land issue had been a bombshell in Jackson Hole ten years earlier, it was now a nuclear explosion by comparison. Journalist Westbrook Pegler stormed in his newspaper column that "President

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19. Miller, interview, *op. cit.*

20. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming's War Years, 1941-1945* (Laramie: University of Wyoming, 1954), p. 196.

Roosevelt and Harold Ickes have recently perpetrated in the state of Wyoming an Act of Annexation which follows the general lines of Adolph Hitler's seizure of Austria."<sup>21</sup> The outcry from the state of Wyoming was stupendous. Dr. T. A. Larson states that "in opposition to the executive order stood Governor Hunt, Senator O'Mahoney, Senator Robertson, Congressman Barrett, Milward L. Simpson, J. Elmer Brock, Charles A. Meyers, Clifford Hansen, Felix Buchenroth, the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, and practically all of the state's newspapers except the *Wyoming Labor Journal*."<sup>22</sup> Former Governor Leslie Miller was about the only leading public figure from Wyoming who defended the President's proclamation. A large segment of the nation's outdoor publications also supported the proclamation.<sup>23</sup>

Secretary Ickes pointed out that approximately 75 per cent of the land in the new monument was already under federal ownership, and that the rights of private property owners within the boundaries of the monument would be respected. The local opposition angrily countered that, nevertheless, fully one third of the county's taxable real estate had been removed from the tax rolls. This amounted to a loss of about \$10,000 per year.<sup>24</sup>

Milward Simpson (later both Wyoming governor and U. S. Senator), attorney for the Citizens Committee of Jackson Hole, favored a plebiscite for the people of Wyoming. Senator E. V. Robertson (R-Wyo), who collected 7000 signatures on his anti-monument petition, agreed with the plebiscite suggestion. Governor Hunt predicted that such a plebiscite would prove that fully 99 per cent of the state's population was opposed to park extension.<sup>25</sup>

States' rights were the overriding issue where Wyoming's public officials, state agencies, and press were concerned. They saw this as an unprecedented and brazen attempt to override the wishes of the people of the state and their representatives in Congress, and a totalitarian abuse of executive authority. Governor Lester Hunt, particularly, reacted with the speed of lightning, and clung to his position with bulldog tenacity. He immediately admonished the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission to ignore the proclamation and to retain jurisdiction of the wildlife inside the monument. He vowed that he would use all of the police power at his disposal (presumably the National Guard and state highway patrol) to forcibly eject any federal authority which attempted to assume

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21. *New York World-Telegram*, June 16, 1943.

22. T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), p. 499.

23. Mr. and Mrs. Rod Lucas, Private Interview, Jackson Hole, Wyoming, June, 1966.

24. Kuczrwska, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

25. Larson, *Wyoming's War Years*, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

control over the monument.<sup>26</sup> He appealed to the governors of other western states to support his position. The governor of five states<sup>27</sup> responded to Wyoming's cry of distress and met with Governor Hunt in Salt Lake City on April 9. They passed a resolution asking FDR to rescind his proclamation, and that the Antiquities Act be repealed by Congress.<sup>28</sup> In May the state of Wyoming filed a suit in federal district court to keep the government from assuming control over the monument.<sup>29</sup>

Also in May, 1943, occurred a colorful and dramatic episode in the opposition's defiance of federal authority. Forty armed riders, including movie star Wallace Beery and Teton County Commissioner Clifford P. Hansen (later governor and presently U. S. Senator), without federal permission, staged a cattle drive across Grand Teton National Monument. There was no gun play and the Park Service took no action to stop the drive; it is remembered primarily for its widespread press coverage.<sup>30</sup>

Not surprisingly, resort was made to the inevitable congressional investigation, this time at Senator O'Mahoney's request. The Public Lands Committees of both the House and Senate met in Jackson in August, 1943. O'Mahoney presided, with Robertson and Barrett both present as committee members. At the hearings, State Game Warden Lester Bagley testified that the creation of the monument would prove harmful to the elk herd, while Clifford Hansen predicted similar dire results for Jackson Hole's ranchers.

Just four days after the proclamation, Congressman Barrett introduced the first of a series of bills which were aimed at the monument.<sup>31</sup> Before a vote was taken in the House, Governor Hunt appealed by mimeographed letter to each member of the House. When the vote was taken in December, 1944, the House voted for the bill 178 to 107. The Senate voted unanimously in favor of the Barrett bill. FDR vetoed the measure, invoking the precedents already established under the Antiquities Act, but hinted at a possible reimbursement of Teton County for tax losses.

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26. Hansen interview, *op. cit.*

27. Sidney P. Osborne, Arizona; E. P. Carville, Nevada; John Vivian, Colorado; Herbert B. Maw, Utah; and Earl Warren, California.

28. *Jackson's Hole Courier*, April 15, 1943.

29. Hearings were held at Sheridan, Wyoming in August, 1944. Judge T. Blake Kennedy ruled that the court was without jurisdiction. He decided that it was a controversy between the executive and legislative branches; but he did voice disapproval of the federal government's position. Since Grand Canyon National Monument had been created under the provisions of the Antiquities Act, it would have been slipshod law, and the results perhaps legally unacceptable, had Judge Kennedy ruled FDR's action unconstitutional.

30. See *Time*, XLI (No. 20), 1943, p. 21.

31. Barrett introduced two more anti-monument bills in 1945 and in 1947.

Barrett was unable to muster enough support to override the veto.

One effect that the Grand Teton National Monument controversy had was to provide an escape valve for Roosevelt's critics who were resentful of his policies, but who were reluctant to attack a president engaged in conducting a war. Here was an issue where FDR and his policies could be openly criticized without suggesting a rift in the common war effort. Senators Everett Dirksen (R-Ill) and Carl Curtis (R-Neb) and Congressman Charles Halleck (R-Ind) attacked Roosevelt's proclamation with gusto.<sup>32</sup>

Some of the more realistic members of the opposition realized that the land fight was lost when FDR issued his executive order in 1943. After failing to undo the act, attempts were made at compromise. For example the opposition suggested that Snake River be used as an eastern boundary for the monument.<sup>33</sup> Another was that the area in question be turned into a state park instead of a national monument; there was no machinery to administer a park of such proportions, however, and Leslie Miller was convinced that the stockmen would not allow any such machinery to be created by the state legislature.<sup>34</sup>

After the initial hysteria caused by FDR's proclamation had subsided, a stalemate developed. The monument was an accomplished fact, and the federal government gave no signs of giving in to what Ickes and Albright saw as a small group of selfish and influential cattlemen who had only their own interests at heart. The opposition, though beginning to weaken from what promised to be a long and perhaps fruitless battle, maintained enough unity to keep the monument from being effectively administered. Senator O'Mahoney, who was on the Senate Appropriations Committee, repeatedly had a rider attached to the Interior Department's annual appropriations, stating that no funds were to be used to

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32. Naturalist Dilley, Grand Teton National Park, Private Interview, Moose, Wyoming, April, 1966. The issue never became a political issue in the sense that party lines conditioned response. Teton County has historically been Republican country, just as Wyoming has been, and the initial response to FDR's proclamation was one of indignation throughout the state. Governor Hunt, a Democrat, vehemently denounced FDR. O'Mahoney, though less rabid in his opposition, sided with Miller. Grand Teton National Park had been created from a bill introduced by Senator Kendrick, a Democrat. Senator Robertson and Congressman Barrett were Republicans, and both opposed the proclamation. Clifford Hansen believes that "opposition in Wyoming was not an expression of anti-New Dealism, since 95% of both parties in Teton County opposed the move." Of course, Rockefeller himself was a Republican. Former President Herbert Hoover strongly supported the actions of both FDR and Rockefeller on this issue.

33. Senator Hansen still feels that this idea has merit, especially in regard to wildlife management.

34. Miller interview, *op. cit.*, Governor Miller remarked that even the U. S. Congress appeared hamstrung, so influential was the Wyoming delegation.

administer Grand Teton National Monument. Thus the situation remained for seven years.

On the home front the opposition never let the people forget the fight for very long. One manifestation of this occurred in 1945 when Wyoming State Senator Felix Buchenroth (Robert E. Miller's close ally, and successor in the Jackson State Bank) introduced a resolution in the state senate urging all of Wyoming's elected officials to continue to oppose the monument, and asking that restitution be made to the state of Wyoming.<sup>35</sup> As the deadlock continued, however, most parties on both sides of the controversy became more amenable to a compromise and a final solution.

The breakthrough came in 1950 when Senators O'Mahoney and Lester Hunt (who had traded his governor's chair for a seat in the U. S. Senate) introduced a compromise bill. It passed both houses of Congress and President Truman signed it on September 14, 1950. This bill abolished Grand Teton National Monument, the lands of which then became part of a greatly enlarged Grand Teton National Park. It also provided tax reimbursement on a 20-year declining scale,<sup>36</sup> rights-of-way for livestock, continuance of current leases and grazing permits, and cooperation between state and federal agencies in the management of the elk herd.

Throughout the controversy over park extension, elk management became a somewhat controversial issue in itself. The problem was a complex one even before park extension was openly advocated, as has already been described. The Wyoming Game and Fish Commission was understandably not anxious to lose the management jurisdiction which it had exercised when the Jackson Hole elk herd had ranged almost exclusively over state, private, and Forest Service lands. Furthermore, the Forest Service (a federal agency), already irate at seeing over a quarter of a million acres of its domain transferred to the Park Service since 1929, found itself in covert sympathy with the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission (a state agency). This moral alliance was perhaps the natural result of the common conservation philosophy which the two agencies shared, that is, controlled but perpetual utilization of natural resources. This explains why, throughout the park extension, the Forest Service sympathized not only with the Game and Fish Commission, but with the cattlemen as well.<sup>37</sup>

As a means of pacifying all of the agencies involved in elk management, as well as local outfitters, dude ranchers, and other con-

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35. *Jackson's Hole Courier*, March 1, 1945.

36. The tax repayment plan was being considered at least as early as 1930, when Albright himself mentioned it. *Sheridan Journal*, November 4, 1930. From 1950 to 1963, Teton County and the state of Wyoming received \$375,024 through the tax reimbursement program. Blood, Harmston, and Rajender, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

37. Miller, interview, *op. cit.*

cerned citizens, Public Law 787 was passed in Congress in 1950. It was a part of the overall compromise package. By its provisions, closely supervised hunting is allowed in Grand Teton National Park to help control what would otherwise be a too-large elk population. The Park Service agreed to support its enactment, but with genuine misgivings, being fearful of the precedent it might establish. Such fears appear to have been unnecessary, because Grand Teton National Park is still the only national park in the entire United States where even supervised hunting is permitted. In this case it was regarded as a necessity, and required the passage of a special law.

Wildlife authorities believe that hunting in Grand Teton National Park will eventually decrease in importance as a means of controlling the elk herd. A few years back, the Park Service, Forest Service, and Wyoming Game and Fish Commission entered into a five year elk management program<sup>38</sup> which could eventually eliminate the necessity for hunting in the Park, or at least diminish its scope. About 80 per cent of the elk which migrate into Jackson Hole from the north each winter move through the Park and could reach the National Elk Refuge without being fired upon, except for the controlled hunting in the Park.<sup>39</sup> If the current program produces the desired results, gradually increased hunting pressure inside Grand Teton National Park will move the migratory routes of the northern animals farther east, where hunters may hunt on Forest Service land with only normal hunting restrictions, an arrangement which would be more suitable for everyone concerned.

The uniqueness of the land and wildlife situation in Jackson Hole sets the area apart from all other similar areas, both in the formulation of national park policies and in the regulation of the wildlife. In no other area do so many regulatory agencies have overlapping jurisdiction over wildlife. All agencies concerned today see the problem as a common one, however, and coordinate their work to a remarkable degree. Their cooperation is a testimony to the high caliber of the personnel which staff these agencies. As employees from these agencies gradually become more a part of the local community, old differences are dissipated even further. Enthusiasm for the Teton country is a common bond which might some day reduce the park extension controversy to nothing more than an interesting chapter in Wyoming history.

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38. Details on this program were supplied by Kenneth Martin.

39. Ira James Yorgeson, Range Biologist, Wyoming Game and Fish Commission, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, April, 1966.

## RECREATION AND TOURISM

On the surface, it might appear strange that the people who most strongly opposed FDR's 1943 executive order said nothing when the compromise bill was passed in 1950. Some of this quiescence was due in part, no doubt, to a realization by the opposition that total victory was impossible. It seems logical to believe, however, that by 1950 many members of the opposition were voluntarily beginning to modify their earlier opinions. After the Second World War, dude ranching and tourism became so important to the local economy that few people were willing to turn back the clock. Today, most people support Grand Teton National Park. Even the county's cattlemen no longer constitute a solid bloc of opposition. Senator Clifford Hansen now frankly says that Rockefeller used the only avenue available to preserve the scenery.<sup>1</sup>

The face of the cattle industry is still changing in Teton County, and it is undeniable that this trend is a direct result of park extension. This is reflected in the fact that only 15,720 acres (0.87%) of land in the entire county still remain in private hands.<sup>2</sup> Only about a dozen large cattle ranches remain in operation, and most of these rely heavily on government grazing permits. Also, inasmuch as the federal government continues to acquire private land in small lots, particularly within the park, the trend toward a smaller cattle industry in the county is continuing. Thus, the relative decline in the economic importance of cattle ranching, as dude ranching and tourism increase in scope, is accompanied by an actual decline in land area as more real estate is used for non-agricultural purposes. This, in turn, has the natural effect of raising real estate prices on the remaining private ranch lands. Michael Yokel, Wilson real estate agent, points out that \$5000 per acre is not considered a high price today for land in Jackson Hole.<sup>3</sup> Such high prices could possibly eradicate the institution of cattle ranching, since it makes sense economically to sell land rather than raise cattle. However, most of the remaining ranchers already live well, will probably "keep the land in the family," and would be reluctant to pay the terribly high taxes on once-cheap land sold at a huge profit.

In view of this trend, it is possible to say that agriculture has very little chance of increasing in economic importance. A recent economic study shows that "the agricultural sector, particularly cattle ranching, was the third most important source of basic income for

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1. Governor Clifford Hansen, Private Interview, Cheyenne, Wyoming, April, 1966.

2. The federal government owns 1,771,260 (96.30%), while state and local governments own another 8410 acres (less than one half of 1%). Blood, Harmston and Rajender, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

3. Michael Yokel, Private Interview, Wilson, Wyoming, December, 1966.

the county [the first being tourism and the second governmental expenditures], but the contribution of basic dollars to the economy from this sector is relatively limited. The cattle industry does not show much promise for growth due to the gradual decline in ranch acreage.”<sup>4</sup> Today it is common in Jackson Hole to combine cattle ranching with dude ranching during the summer and fall tourist season. Ranching adds a western flavor to the valley, and it would be to everyone’s disadvantage if the cattle industry were to die out completely. It is unlikely that it ever will. So far, it has simply changed with the times.

Dude ranches, or guest ranches, which cater to vacationers and big game hunters, now form a separate business, though the practice is still frequently integrated with cattle ranching. Dude ranching has also had to adapt to changing times, and has benefited overall. Before World War II, when all roads into Teton County were bad, when few people had money to finance expensive vacations, and when nationwide travel was not as common as it is today, the dude ranch was an exclusive institution which only the well-to-do minority could enjoy. In those days tourists were fewer, stayed longer, and spent more money per person than today. For the most part, the same vacationers returned to the same ranches year after year, and were attracted not only to the beauty of the Tetons, but to the remoteness and privacy of Jackson Hole.

Today the situation is much different. There are still the faithful customers who return each year, but they no longer constitute the majority. A higher living standard, better highways, improved automobiles, and more leisure time have changed the complexion of dude ranching. Now it is the vacationing millions who spend money in Teton County each year, constantly increasing in volume until tourism has become the county’s primary source of income.<sup>5</sup> The number of visitors to Grand Teton National Park has actually doubled over the past ten years; currently about 2.7 million people visit the park annually.<sup>6</sup> With this fantastic increase has come a sharp upturn in the number of campers to stop in the area. Camper volume is now reaching near-crisis proportions, since neither the Park Service nor the Forest Service is presently able to increase camping facilities at a fast enough rate to keep up with camper traffic during the summer. Lodging in the town of Jackson is now likewise inadequate at the peak of the season.

Teton County’s major economic flaw is the seasonal nature of its economy. The tourist boom is heavily concentrated in the months of July and August. This trend is gradually changing as more people start traveling earlier and staying later. Summer tourism

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4. Blood, Harmston, and Rajender, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

6. *Ibid.*

now starts as early as May, and the influx of fall hunters for the long elk season extends the season well into November. Traditionally, however, the profitable season has coincided with the summer months. This has always meant that local residents have too much to do during summer and too little during winter. In the summer Jackson Hole has never had to compete for tourist dollars, but winter has been a far different story. The cold season has always been long and hard economically for Jackson Holers.

Extensive plans are now under way to provide Teton County with a more balanced economy. The Jackson Hole Chamber of Commerce<sup>7</sup> has long been advocating a winter opening of the national parks as an added off-season attraction. Indeed, hopes are high that someday there will be no "off-season" in Teton County. Recent developments indicate that these hopes are realistic. For example, it is probable that Yellowstone Park will someday be kept open on a year-round basis, at least major roads and main points of interest. Of course, the more spectacular parts of Grand Teton National Park are visible every day of the year from the highway through the valley, which is kept open at all times.

Cutter racing is another activity which has become popular in Jackson Hole in recent years. This event consists of racing two horse-drawn chariot-type vehicles, or "cutters," over a quarter-mile track; the track is snow-packed and each cutter is drawn by two thoroughbreds or quarterhorses. Cutter enthusiasts operate within the framework of the All American Cutter Racing Association, which sponsors races throughout eastern Idaho and western Wyoming. Finals are held in Jackson Hole, at which time the champion is crowned. Spectators from all parts of the world gather to watch these western Ben Hurs compete.

Riding the feed sleighs in the National Elk Refuge during winter elk feeding operations is an activity which is gaining in popularity with winter visitors. Its possibilities are limited as a drawing card for winter vacationers, but it does provide an interesting diversion for those who come to the area for other winter sports.

Skiing is the sport which can, and many authorities believe will, revolutionize the country's entire economic structure. If any activity can extend Teton County's summertime economy into a year-round economy, it is skiing. This invigorating sport has really already begun to have an impact. Though Jackson Holers have skied for many years, the first truly modern ski area with chair-lift facilities came into being in 1946. It was that year that Neil Rafferty's Snow King Mountain Ski Area went into operation.

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7. Superintendent Anderson made history by becoming the first National Park Service superintendent to serve on the board of directors of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce.

Snow King has heavy use during skiing season, with as high as 500 skiers per day. This mountain virtually begins at the south edge of the town of Jackson and, consequently, is popular with school children. It is sophisticated enough for expert skiers too, and many local people prefer it because of its convenience.

The giant of the ski industry not only in Teton County, but in all of Wyoming, is the new Teton Village ski area located twelve miles west of Jackson. Financed partially by a federal loan and incorporated as the Jackson Hole Ski Corporation, this organization has in a very short time accomplished a great deal. Situated outside Grand Teton National Park at the south end of the Tetons, this mountain has 4135 feet of vertical drop, a 63-passenger aerial tram, and three double chair-lifts. These facilities can accommodate 3000 skiers per hour. The mountain consists of eight main ridges with many secondary ridges. Much of the slope is covered with scattered trees, as well as open meadows and bowls, and heavily timbered areas laced with trails. Normally there is an abundance of snow with frequent new snows to rejuvenate the snow pack. The shortest run is over two miles long.<sup>8</sup>

Paul McCollister, one of the co-developers of the mammoth project, confidently asserts that Teton Village will seriously compete with Aspen, Vail, and Sun Valley. He points out that when complete, the area will be even larger than Aspen proper, and should be better. A dozen more chair-lifts are being planned, plus 33 more plush ski lodges similar to the three already in use. There are over one hundred home sites, ten of which now have homes on them. In addition, there are sites for 700 condominium apartments. In the three complete lodges, there are about ten businesses.

Teton Village will be a totally self-sustaining resort area when completed, with shops, restaurants, night clubs, barber and beauty shops, delicatessens, drug stores, cleaner and laundry service, gift shops, clothing stores and, of course, ski shops. They will all be on the ground floors of the commercial chalets. There will be paved streets and underground utilities. In short, the area will be a complete community (with Alpine architecture) if current plans materialize. In summer, Teton Village's lodges will house vacationers. A completed Teton Village could sleep 6000 guests, or more than the present population of Teton County.

Paul McCollister spent a great deal of time in Europe carefully researching the newer, more successful ski resorts, and the best features of all of them are present in Teton Village. The Snow King Corporation is in favor of the new ski area, since improved

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8. Paul McCollister, Private Interview, Teton Village, Jackson Hole, Wyoming, November, 1966.

and enlarged facilities bring more skiers to the entire area. Togwo-tee Lodge is also involved in a new ski development, made possible through a Forest Service lease.

Skiing and outdoor winter recreation are changing the entire winter scene in Teton County. In winter the number of vacationers will probably always be smaller than in summer, but it is also true that winter visitors stay longer and spend more money.

The increase in winter sports activity has brought about a marked improvement of transportation facilities during the snowy season. Frontier Airlines now has regular daily flights into Jackson Hole from Denver; and two bus lines provide service into Jackson. One surprising fact is that the Jackson Hole Airport (the only airport in the United States inside a national park) now has more boardings than any other airport in Wyoming, including Cheyenne.<sup>9</sup>

The Teton Mountains themselves are another important attraction to a special, hardy breed of outdoorsmen. Mountain climbing is an old sport and, with the exceptions of hunting and fishing, is no doubt the oldest in Teton County. The Tetons are well-suited to climbing, being of a superior rock, and rugged enough to challenge the world's best climbers. In some ways, the Tetons are superior to many world-famous European climbing areas, which they match in ruggedness, but the Tetons have less rock fall, and less snow and ice.

In 1842 a Frenchman named Michaud made the first recorded attempt to climb the Grand Teton; he made it above the lower saddle. In 1872 James Stevenson, while leading the Snake River division of Hayden's expedition of that year, and Nathaniel P. Langford, first superintendent of Yellowstone Park, decided to climb the Grand Teton. After their climb, they reported to their party, and to the rest of the world, that they had reached the summit. William R. Taggart, who kept a detailed journal while with the Stevenson party, mentioned in his entry for that day that "two Messrs. Stevenson and Langford reached the summit. They reported the summit as level and only about one hundred feet by sixty."<sup>11</sup> In the June 1873 issue of *Scribner's Monthly* Langford published an account of the last 600 feet of the historic climb. He made references to such phenomena as mountain sheep tracks and mountain flowers on the summit, both of which seemed surprising, considering the Grand Teton's elevation and ruggedness.

William O. Owen (at that time state auditor, and for many years deputy United States surveyor for the state of Wyoming) unsuc-

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9. Marjorie Waller, Manager, Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, November, 1966.

11. William Rush Taggart diary, p. 14, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

cessfully attempted to climb the Grand Teton in 1891.<sup>12</sup> The more familiar Owen became with the Tetons, however, the more convinced he became that Langford had never reached the summit. After several more unsuccessful attempts over the next few years, Owen reached the summit during a climb in 1898.<sup>13</sup> After completing the climb, Owen became thoroughly convinced that Langford had never laid eyes on the summit. In answer to Langford's description of the conditions on top, Owen said, "there isn't a mountain flower within a thousand feet of the summit, and a mountain sheep would no more be able to climb the last six hundred feet than he would to climb the Washington Monument."<sup>14</sup> Owen hotly contested Langford's official claim as the first to scale the Grand Teton, and 30 years later, in 1928, the Wyoming state legislature passed a resolution which credited Owen with the historic feat. Grand Teton National Park also recognizes Owen's claim. As it turned out, Langford's own preposterous account was used as the most convincing evidence against him; it was also regarded as strange that he had left no sign or marker of any type to help substantiate his claim. Today, Owen is widely recognized as the conqueror of the Grand Teton, and one of the major peaks in the Teton range has since been named after him.

Another ascent of the Grand Teton was not made until August 25, 1923, when Quin A. Blackbrun, Andy DePiero, and D. F. DeLap made the harrowing climb; Owen's 1898 markers were found intact.<sup>15</sup>

Since the 1920s, several more routes to the summit of the Grand Teton have been worked out, though the Owen route is still one of the most popular. The sport of mountain climbing in the Tetons has gradually increased in popularity. In 1965, 454 people scaled the Grand Teton alone. Today almost every mountain peak in Grand Teton National Park has been climbed.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1920s Paul Petzoldt, a prominent mountain climber who did much to promote the sport in the Tetons, opened a mountain climbing school at Jenny Lake. Now famous as the School of American Mountaineering, it is owned and operated by Glen Exum. The school is run for the public and is open daily during July and August. Several instructors, all expert climbers, teach

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12. Emma Matilda Lake in Jackson Hole is named after Owen's wife.

13. There were five other men in Owen's party: Bishop Frank Spalding, Thomas Cooper, Frank L. Peterson, John Shive, and Hugh McDerment; the Owen party reached the summit on August 1, 1898. *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*, July 20, 1929.

14. Elizabeth Arnold Stone, *Uinta County: Its Place in History* (Laramie: Laramie Printing Company, 1924) p. 244.

15. *Wyoming State Tribune and Cheyenne State Leader*, July 20, 1929.

16. Doug McLaren, National Park Service, Private Interview, Moose, Wyoming, June, 1966.

various phases of the sport to both novices and experienced climbers. Exum, who has made about 300 ascents of the Grand Teton, was the first American to make a solo ascent of the Matterhorn.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to Exum's school, the National Park Service has a trained mountain rescue team which caters to injured, stranded, and dead<sup>18</sup> climbers. This highly skilled team, which consists of a minimum of 18 members, mostly seasonal park rangers, have saved many lives, and are an indispensable asset to mountain climbing in the Tetons.<sup>19</sup>

Today, the Tetons are so widely known throughout the mountain climbing fraternity that the area advertises itself. The Tetons' unusual combination of ruggedness and accessibility place them among the world's finest for climbers of all levels of experience.

A recent development in Teton County, but one which will almost surely continue to expand, is what might be described as a "cultural renaissance." This movement has manifested itself primarily in the form of the Jackson Hole Fine Arts Foundation. Ernie Hagan and George Hufsmith initiated the program in the summer of 1962. Consuela Von Gontard, Marie Scott, and Byron Jenkins were among the corporate signers.<sup>20</sup>

The activities of the Fine Arts Foundation are summer oriented and provide a welcome respite to local residents who are over-worked and harried during the summer tourist season. Such institutions as a 65-member symphony orchestra must come as a pleasant surprise to many vacationers who prefer some of the vestiges of civilization even while on a western vacation. Some of the nation's best conductors and musicians have performed in Jackson since the advent of the Fine Arts Foundation. Jackson Hole in summer now echoes with the music of Wagner, Beethoven, Ravel, Mozart, Hayden and other composers of renown. The season runs from the first week in July through the first week in August, with at least two concerts every week. Throughout the summer there are also several other activities, including a film festival, an art show, art schools, a music school, a photography exhibit, and ancient Indian dances presented by Reginald and Gladys Laubin. A lecture series has also been successful on a limited basis.<sup>21</sup>

Considering all of the areas encompassed in the overall fine arts

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17. Edmund Christopherson, *Behold the Grand Tetons* (Missoula, Mont.: Edmund Christopherson, 1961) p. 47.

18. Mountain climbing fatalities, though few, do occur. Fatalities among climbers in the Tetons have averaged 1 or 2 per cent per year for the past 15 years. This is very low considering that there are from twelve to fourteen hundred climbers per season. McLaren, interview, *op. cit.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Grant Hagan, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, June, 1966.

21. *Ibid.*

program, music has been the most successful, since it is a more elaborate production, and it appeals to a wider audience. In addition to the regularly programmed concerts, there are children's concerts and evening concerts in the town park. The latter, which were poorly attended at first, have since become a great success. A climate for fine arts has been created and cultivated in Jackson Hole, and the local people now anticipate and expect fine arts productions. Also, fine arts are becoming an important means of advertising Jackson Hole, since many vacationers now have their hotel and motel reservations synchronized with the summer festival season. Even the budget of the foundation, which in 1966 was over \$35,000, is economically important to Teton County, since most of it is spent in the area. The local people have contributed generously to the foundation, and the board of trustees, executive committee, and other positions are filled largely by volunteers. The people, then, support the fine arts movement. One of its spokesmen summed up the purpose of the program with the remark that "fine arts should inject a richness into life's every day routine."<sup>22</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Teton County's natural wonders—Jackson Hole, the Tetons, a rugged outdoor atmosphere—have given the area a prominent position on the map of Wyoming and the United States. Recent statistics reveal that Grand Teton National Park is now Wyoming's number one tourist attraction and, therefore, is a tremendous economic asset to the entire state.

In spite of the county's sparse population, it has managed to exert its share of influence in the political sphere. Within the last decade, Teton County has produced no fewer than two governors and two U. S. Senators. Hence, it would appear that the county's political importance is no less now than in the days when a governor's stand on park extension could cost him re-election.

Grand Teton National Park is now well accepted by most Jackson Holers, and few people today argue that tourism has not more than compensated for tax losses. In trying to find a consensus among members of the older generation in Teton County as to why and by whom park extension was so strongly opposed, one opinion stands out above the rest; many local people came to realize that a new park would mean a massive influx of outsiders and sweeping changes in the old, familiar, unhampered, austere way of life. One long-time resident notes "a Wyoming ambivalence: the people want outside money, but not outsiders!"<sup>1</sup>

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22. *Ibid.*

1. Elizabeth Hayden, Private Interview, Jackson, Wyoming, April, 1966.

Jackson Hole today does have a special, cosmopolitan atmosphere that makes the area unique. The Second World War and the increase in travel during and after the war has had an impact. As the fame of the area has spread, with stories of its rugged beauty and isolation, many types of individualists, from anti-social nature lovers to wealthy socialites and even royalty, have moved to this "last of the Old West." Perhaps most of all, Grand Teton National Park has attracted millions of visitors who mostly spend their money and move on, but who also leave a bit of themselves behind. Large numbers of tourists cannot help but leave changes in their wake. Some changes, at least in the way of improved facilities and accommodations, are necessary to make people want to return. Grand Teton National Park, with its high visitation, now nearing three million people per season, has finally passed even Yellowstone National Park in visitation.

The influx of resident federal employes has also caused social changes and expanded the cosmopolitan atmosphere at the grass-roots level. The impact of this must be great, for example, in the schools. Twenty-five per cent of the children in the county's five grade schools (Jackson, Wilson, Grovont, Moran, and Alta) are the children of federal employes and, therefore, come from all parts of the United States.

A great many people in Jackson are being convinced that the point of diminishing returns has been reached where visitation to the area is concerned. Overcrowding is very definitely destroying one of Jackson Hole's most valuable assets, which is simply the western atmosphere. Jackson was the first town (and probably the only town) in Wyoming to ask the highway commission to conduct a feasibility study for a highway bypass.<sup>2</sup> This would take some of the summer traffic from downtown Jackson, and would permit those vacationers who stop over to be more comfortable. Teton County has literally become a playground for an entire nation. Current trends point in the direction of even greater increases in tourism, a gradual shift toward a more evenly balanced, year-round economy, and greater prosperity for local residents.

The old timers were correct in believing that sweeping changes would result if Teton County were made into a vacation land. It is certain that very few local people from any age group would really be willing to return to the days when Jackson Hole was an isolated mountain community. Though many people still dream of the days when life was simpler, it is doubtful that anyone, even older generation Jackson Holers, one having tasted the luxuries of civilization, would return to a primitive existence. All local people jealously love and defend Jackson Hole and the Tetons; however,

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2. Marjorie Waller, Manager, Jackson Chamber of Commerce, Private Interview, November, 1966.

they are willing to share their outdoor paradise with the rest of the world. F. V. Hayden, the great explorer of the early west, could not have known how accurate his prophecy for the Teton and Yellowstone country was when he exclaimed almost a century ago, "I cannot here even attempt to locate these glories of the landscape; one finds them on every mountainside and in nearly every valley. When better known they will make of Wyoming . . . a region of resort for pleasure-seekers from every part of the world."<sup>3</sup>

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# *Fourth Segment of the Oregon Trail*

TOM SUN RANCH TO SOUTH PASS

Trek No. 23 of the Historical Trail Treks

Sponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society, the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, the Carbon County Chapter and the Fremont County Chapter of the State Historical Society.

## OFFICERS

Captains: Captain Leonard Wold and Richard Klouda,  
Wyoming Highway Patrol  
Wagon Bosses: Leroy Moore, Joe Keenan, Milton Binger  
Announcer: Bill Dubois  
Guides: Henry Jensen, Tom Shaffer  
Historian: Maurine Carley  
Registrars: Jane Houston, Meda Walker, Roz Bealey  
Tickets: Mary Hutchison  
Photographer: Alan Lessel

SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1972

7:30 P.M. The Carbon County Chapter was the host for approximately 150 people who had gathered to take part in the historical trek. After a visit to the museum they enjoyed an appropriate musical program entitled, "A Diary Set to Music Along the Oregon Trail," arranged by Mrs. Walter Lambertsen. The Misses Connie and Betty Engstrom and Mrs. Karen Lambertsen participated in the program.

The refreshment table was decorated with covered wagon lamps loaned by Robert Wright. Cookies and punch were served by the local chapter. Officers for the trek were introduced.

SUNDAY, JULY 16, 1972

Caravan: 280 people, 110 cars

6:30 A.M. A caravan of trekkers left Rawlins to meet many others from Casper at the Tom Sun Ranch west of Devil's Gate. Registrations were completed and tickets for the dinner in Lander were sold. Many visited the Sun museum and inspected the markers across the road.

## THE STORY OF THE SUN RANCH

By Mrs. Tom Sun, Sr.

Tom Sun, senior, was born Thomas Debeausoliel of French-Canadian parents. His mother died when he was a small boy; and as he did not get along well with his stepmother, he ran away from home in Montreal at the age of eleven. He knew of an uncle in Montana and thought he could reach him. When he got to the Missouri River he met a French trapper named LeFever, called "Dakota" by the Indians, who taught him much of the lore of the plains. They trapped on rivers and streams on down to St. Louis. During the Civil War he worked on construction, helping to keep trains running for the Union Army.

After the war he trapped along the streams and followed the Platte into Colorado and Wyoming. Buffalo Bill Cody, Tom Sun and Boney Earnest were scouts and guides for several years at Fort Fred Steele which was established primarily as headquarters for troops protecting the builders of the new transcontinental railroad. Fort Steele was occupied as an army post from June, 1868, to August, 1886.

Later, Buffalo Bill went east to start his Wild West show. He was meeting people who were interested in hunting and he sent many hunters to Wyoming. Tom Sun and Boney Earnest would meet them in Rawlins and outfit them for the trip. This ranch spot, near Devil's Gate, was Sun's headquarters where they stopped before going on to Yellowstone, the Big Horn Mountains or wherever game was plentiful.

Sir John Rae Reid came from England to hunt and became a close friend of Tom Sun. He was interested in the large herds of cattle and sheep going west along the several trails. When he returned to England from a hunting trip in 1877 he sent 1000 pounds sterling to Mr. Sun to purchase cattle. A partnership between the two was formed.

It was an uphill fight, as cattle were not worth much and the winters were hard. John Clay wrote this about Sun later when they were friends and neighbors: "They met disaster together and it was a sad and sorrowful sort of time that made rich men paupers. And yet when they went down to his ranch and stayed overnight, there was no sign of trouble. The generous hospitality of himself and his good wife was ever before you. A royal host with a wealth of stories concerning frontier life. He loved to dwell on the past when buffalo were plentiful. But amid all this he had fortitude, for he stuck to his ranch when many old timers had packed up and gone."

In 1878, Edwin C. Johnson came out to hunt from Connecticut. He camped at Brown's Canyon the first night, and came on to Sun's headquarters on the Sweetwater the next day. They spent the day arranging the gear needed and made plans for the hunt. They took

three pack horses and went to Sand Creek at the east end of the Ferris Mountains and on across the Platte River. There were hundreds of elk as well as many antelope and deer. All heads were saved and meat taken for food. They killed elk, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, and a grizzly bear. After cleaning and packing the heads, Mr. Johnson left for Connecticut.

While Mr. Johnson was here, a herd of 5000 cattle went through on the trail from Idaho and they talked about going into the cattle business together. They decided to take up desert claims. Each one could prove up on every 40 acres they could get water on within the acre grant. Mrs. Johnson took the claim at Independence Rock (the east end); Tom Sun took the one from Devil's Gate west; Mr. Johnson took the middle pasture; and his nephew proved up on the Cherry Creek pasture. They then began to fence. Billy Johnson, the nephew, came up from Fort Collins in 1882 to go on the cattle drive. In March they went on the train to Utah, then by six-horse-stage to Baker City, Oregon, via Boise, Idaho. They gathered the cattle, about 3000 head, bought saddle horses and started the drive home. They used the dipper brand for a trail brand and got here in good shape. After building pens and branding on West Cherry Creek, the Hub and Spoke brand was born.

Mr. Johnson came out each spring and stayed until after shipping in the fall. At that time the price of cattle was very low and he was discouraged. His wife had loaned money to the outfit and wanted to be repaid so he was determined to sell. Sun was reluctant and wanted to hold. He asked Johnson to wait as he thought cattle would come up five cents a pound, but in the spring of 1892, Johnson went to Chicago and sold the cows for \$15 per head. He sold to Jordan of Montana and they were delivered in 1892 and 1893.

In the fall of 1893 Sun bought cattle from Wilcox in Saratoga and also bought out Johnson's share of the ranch thus going into business for himself. Some of the original "3-Dot" herd that was left was brought in by the riders and kept in pastures. These cattle were so wild that the men were afraid to get in the corrals to brand the calves. They roped them from the top fence rail and dragged them out under the poles to brand them.

In 1883, Tom Sun married Mary Hellihan, a young woman who had come from Ireland at the age of 16 and was employed at the Rawlins House, a hotel and eating place run by the Union Pacific for its passengers and employees. Of this union four children were born: Tom, Jr., Anastasia, Adelaide, and Eva. Anastasia died as a small child and Eva died while attending high school in Salt Lake. Tom, Jr., who has managed the ranch since his father died in 1909, married Ellen Lynch of Rawlins in 1913. They still reside at the ranch. Adelaide married George Smith of Buffalo and is still a frequent visitor at the ranch.

Mr. Sun's memories include wagon trains and handcart caravans

on the Oregon Trail which passed here where the old highway went past the gate. The trail is visible in many places up and down the river from here. The little meadow to the east of Bernard Sun's house was an overnight camping spot for them. It should also be noted that the Pony Express route followed the Oregon Trail, as did the first telegraph line built in 1861.

Many people erroneously believe that the Oregon Trail went through Devil's Gate. There is no way a wagon, or even a horse, could go through the Gate as the river fills it and is rocky and rapid. The Oregon Trail went through the gap just south of Devil's Gate, where the old highway is.

In closing, let us recall the verse about a young lady who once jumped off Devil's Gate:

Here lie the remains of Carolyn Waite.  
Her redemption came too late  
For she met her fate at the Devil's Gate.

**GUIDES:** Henry Jensen, Tom Shaffer

8:35 A.M. We departed west on the old highway with the Ferris Mountains on the left and the Sweetwater River on the right. The Oregon Trail is at the foot of the bluffs by the river.

8:45 A.M. After traveling a short two miles we stopped at the Martin's Cove marker.

### HANDCARTS TO HEAVEN

By Bill Bragg, Jr.

I'd like to hark back well over 100 years to certain events which led to the naming of this area as Martin's Cove. The word cove means a secluded nook, in this case, place of shelter. The name Martin came from Edward Martin, the commander of Handcart Company Number Five of Mormon converts, who struggled into this cove during late November, 1856.

The idea of handcart companies came from Brigham Young and his advisors. They reasoned that slow moving, canvas-covered Conestogas cost much more than flimsy handcarts built of strong, but light wood. Also, those who had come to Salt Lake had walked by the big wagons, so why couldn't new converts throw their personal belongings on a handcart and push or pull it across the plains to Zion?

The idea was sound. The trouble was the people. They were not mountain men used to constant combat with the elements. They were not stringy, lean soldiers used to long hours on the trail. These people were European emigrants. They had no idea what would happen to them in a sudden Nebraska hailstorm. They had never faced the ground winds in Wyoming carrying stinging bits of dust grinding into their eyes. They were not ready to face an early

fall blizzard ripping and searing its way across the flats, filling the draws with chest-high snow, crusting the ground with ice, and stunning each person with varying bullet-like blasts of icy wind that take your breath away. At Florence, Iowa, their captain gave strict instructions that no one was to be allowed more than 17 pounds of personal belongings. This included their clothing and their bedding. At night, they were told, they were to sleep 20 people under one tent. Usually, a couple of big wagons hauled food and provisions, but never enough. Some cows came along to be used to feed the company.

One rule of the Oregon Trail was that it was not wise to go beyond Fort Laramie after July first, as early fall storms might catch a slow moving caravan. A case in point was the Donner Party when 36 out of 81 persons died a tragic death in the California mountains.

The First Handcart Company moved out from Florence with 274 persons on its lists, and Salt Lake was sighted 60 days later. Only 13 persons died along the Oregon Trail from weakness, heat, exhaustion, exposure and disease in this handcart company.

Then the Second Company left with 221 on its rolls. They lost only seven and arrived in Salt Lake City 64 days later, on September 26, in pretty good shape. Immediately behind them the Third Company departed. They also arrived 64 days later and like the Second reported seven deaths.

In the case of the Fourth Company they left Florence too late, on August 17. They made it to Salt Lake all right, but in 84 days. Instead of leaving seven dead, they lost 67. The penalty for leaving late might have been much greater, except that a rescue team met them in the vicinity of Fort Bridger with clothing and food.

Handcart Company Five left Florence on August 27. Edward Martin rounded up 576 people, all of whom had come from England under his command. He had been held up at Florence waiting for supplies, more carts and tents. He knew he was late and said so later. Still, his people wanted to get on to Zion, so they left singing hymns joyfully at the prospect of finally seeing their dreams come true. Along with 576 persons young, middle-aged, and one veteran of Waterloo, Martin had 146 carts, seven big wagons, 30 oxen and 50 cows. A normal number of deaths occurred on the way to Fort Laramie. When they arrived at that post, provisions had run so low that fathers and mothers were reduced to selling watches and jewelry or anything else that they had of value, for food.

It was October 8, 1856, when they again headed west. Just beyond Casper, near Red Buttes, the weather changed overnight into a snarling winter blizzard. Little children, whose shoes had been taken from them so their feet would toughen, had only canvas to cover their feet. Fathers who had valiantly pulled the carts from Florence thus far simply lay down and died. One woman later said

she slept all night beside her husband who died earlier that night, and recounted how long the night had seemed. Still, they pushed on, hoping the weather would change. By then a foot of snow covered the floor of the valley, ice formed on the North Platte, and in each little draw snow lay up to eight feet deep. Cows died along with people, and in far away Utah, Brigham Young dispatched a rescue team to the aid of the Fifth Company. The Mormon leader had been unaware of the Fifth Company on the trail until the Fourth Company arrived in Salt Lake City.

But the rescue team arrived only after 150 persons had perished between Red Buttes and Martin's Cove. When they struggled into this shelter, two 18-year-old boys carried women, children and men too weak to stand across the Sweetwater all day long. Then they too, lay down and died. Here the survivors drew together to wait their fate. Just when the storm would seem to lift, another icy blast took its place. When the rescue unit arrived, one man said, ". . . you can imagine between five and six hundred men, women and children, worn down by drawing handcarts through snow and mud; fainting by the wayside; falling, chilled by the cold; children crying, their limbs stiffened by the cold, their feet bleeding and some of them bare to the snow and frost. The sight is almost too much for the stoutest of us; but we all go on doing all we can, not doubting nor dispairing." At last, 95 days after they left Florence, the Fifth Handcart Company arrived in Salt Lake City. They had lost over 150 persons.

9:00 A.M. We proceeded on the old highway which bears to the left. On our left Whiskey Gap was pointed out. According to C. G. Coutant, it derived its name from an incident in 1862, when Major O'Farrell and Company A of the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry were escorting the rolling stock and horses of the Overland Stage Line when the stage route was being changed from the Oregon Trail to the Overland Trail farther south. The first night's camp was at this gap, where there was a fine spring. The Major noticed some of his men were intoxicated, ordered the wagons searched for whiskey and a barrel was discovered in the last wagon searched. O'Farrell ordered the barrel smashed, and, as it happened, the spot was just above the spring and the whiskey poured into the camp's water supply. The soldiers quickly saved what they could of the whiskey in cups, canteens, buckets and camp kettles, and others lay on the ground and drank the spring water. A half hour later, few sober men could be found in camp, but the effects wore off by morning and the soldiers were ready for duty.

Twelve miles farther along we turned right on the Lander road (Highways 789 and 287). Ahead was a good view of Split Rock in the Sweetwater Rocks on the right. Signs along the road indicated that we traveled in Fremont, Natrona, Carbon and back into Fremont County in the distance of one mile.

9:40 A.M. Having traveled practically on the old trail for nine miles we stopped for a talk.

### THE SPLIT ROCK TELEGRAPH AND PONY EXPRESS STATION

By Beulah Walker

Split Rock, located on the Oregon Trail, was a well-known landmark, watched for by the many emigrants on their westward journey. From the east this landmark could be seen a day before it was reached and two days after leaving it. A fort was built on the south side of the rock across the Sweetwater River. A tunnel was dug to the river to get water without being seen by Indians. This fort was also used as a Pony Express station until it was destroyed by fire. The Pony Express ran from April 3, 1860, to October 24, 1861, or about eighteen months, carrying letters and mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California. It took 10 days less time by Pony Express than by stage coach.

Edward Creighton from Nebraska, with his crew of men, built part of the transcontinental telegraph line across Wyoming west, to meet a crew building the line east from California. Creighton's crew completed their work to Salt Lake City a week ahead of the California crew. The first message was sent over the telegraph line October 24, 1861, bringing to an end the romantic, colorful and dangerous rides of the Pony Express riders.

In later years a small log building served as the Split Rock post office where mail came in only once a week. All settlers in the Sweetwater valley had to go there to receive their mail. This post office was discontinued in the early 1940s, when a mail route was started over the new Highway 287. Mail was picked up and received twice a day for the next 16 years at Home On The Range Service Station.

10:00 A.M. The McIntosh Split Rock Ranch is on the left as we departed. After three miles we slowed down to see the Split Rock marker on the bank of the Sweetwater.

10:15 A.M. We pulled off the road and walked a quarter of a mile to see some of the best preserved ruts on the old trail. Our attention was called to Castle Rock on the skyline to the southeast.

### CASTLE ROCK

By Henry Jensen

I would like to thank Bill and Virginia McIntosh for their gracious permission for our caravan to stop here to inspect the old ruts along the Oregon Trail. I have spoken to them of the possibility

of having this spot made a National Historic Site so that it might be preserved for future generations. They are agreeable.

We do not know when the first wagon made its imprint here but we do have indisputable evidence that thousands followed it. Here also is evidence that the classic movie spectacular showing 500 Conestoga wagons lined up one behind another over hill and dale is in error. From a practical viewpoint, 500 wagons or even half that number stretched out single file through Indian country would be next to impossible to defend, so that the leaders, being practical men, had their trains travel two, three or even four abreast when the terrain permitted and there was danger of attack. Here we have evidence that at least some of the trains using this portion of the trail traveled as much as four abreast.

To the southeast of us is a rock formation known as Castle Rock. One look makes further explanation of its name unnecessary. Many names have been carved on the soft sandstone of this formation, the oldest being that of W. K. Sublette 1849. History makes no mention of a W. K. Sublette. According to Miss Carley, the one of the four famous Sublette brothers for whom Sublette County is named, William L., died in 1845 in St. Louis. Sublette being a rather unusual name it is entirely possible that W. K. was a relative.

Other names carved in the rock and still legible are Wm Jennings June 15, 1853; D. L. Thomas June 10, 1863, Wis; A. Craig May 28, 1850; A. Kraft Aug 23, 1884; and C. Kraft Aug 21, 1881 and Aug 23, 1884.

11:00 A.M. After we all admired the arrow head found by Bill Judge we went on our way. The trail lies between the highway and the river at the foot of the Sweetwater Rocks. The Gap in the Green Mountains on the left is called Crook's Gap in honor of General Crook, famous Indian fighter in the 1870s. Just north of the Gap is Crook's Mountain on the Continental Divide. On our right is a canyon where two of the three crossings of the Sweetwater are located.

11:25 A.M. We stopped at Jeffrey City where rest rooms and gas stations were available. During this stop Mrs. Florence Kirk, the oldest settler in the vicinity, told about the country.

### THE THREE CROSSINGS OF THE SWEETWATER

By Florence Kirk

Many words have been written over the years about the Three Crossings on the Sweetwater River and the emigrant trail. All tales are different. Who can say which is the most accurate?

According to one record, the first crossing was below the canyon to the east of Sand Gap, the second crossing was above the canyon at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and the third crossing, several miles

west at or near Ice Slough, was at the mouth where it enters the Sweetwater River. Brigham Young used the third crossing near what is known as Morrison Pocket. Near the first crossing was a Pony Express station which was burned in 1860. A telegraph station was located at the same place. At the time the station was being attacked by Indians in 1861, the telegrapher was sending a message telling of the attack. He said he had hidden all the gold and silver in an old Dutch oven to save it. The line went dead before the message was completed. No doubt the man was killed. The building was then burned. Every year people who have read or heard about this event come to the site of the old station with hopes and dreams of finding that hidden Dutch oven and the treasure it holds.

In 1928, the bodies of 14 or more soldiers buried near the old Pony Express station were moved to a government cemetery for their final resting place. One grave remains; the marker reads "Bennett Tribbott, Co. B-11 Ohio." His grave was there before the militia came and the engraving on the marker was done after the other graves were moved.

11:40 A.M. As we left Jeffrey City we noticed that the Sweetwater Rocks came to an end on our right. The Trail is between the first two ridges. A large rock off by itself between the ridges was the scene of an Indian attack where three people were killed and buried.

After ten miles we slowed up for the Ice Slough sign. During emigrant days, the water which froze solid in winter remained as ice under the overlying peat until early summer, when it became an offensive smelling bog. Many of the 49ers enjoyed a cold drink here but many others were disappointed later in the summer.

The trail crossed the highway at this point then went up over a hill to the southwest.

12:00 noon. Picnic lunches were eaten at the Sweetwater Crossing where some enjoyed tables and shade. Others spread blankets and ate in circles on the ground, frontier style.

1:00 P.M. As we left the Crossing the beautiful snow-capped Wind River Mountains were an awesome sight in the distance ahead. On top of Beaver Hill, at an Atlantic City sign, we turned left from the highway on a country road, traveled over rolling hills and began the gradual ascent to the historic South Pass mining area. The Mormon Trail, as well as several branches of the Oregon Trail, passed through this part of the country. In fact we traveled on the trail for approximately 25 miles on our way to Fort Stambaugh.

## THE STORY OF FORT STAMBAUGH

By Ila Lewis

When the Civil War ended in 1865, the major placer deposits of gold in California, Nevada, Colorado, Oregon, Montana, Idaho and Utah were exhausted and the mining industry there was taken over by people with extensive capital to mine on a much larger scale. Soon the placer miners moved on to greener fields and the west-central part of Wyoming was their destination. In 1869 and 1870, many people were attracted to Wyoming by reports that the Sweetwater mines were rich with gold. As the miners came, three small towns sprang up: South Pass City, Atlantic City, and Hamilton City, more commonly known as Miner's Delight.

The mining industry helped to speed the settlement of the Wind River Valley. It was a good fertile place to raise crops such as vegetables, apples, grains and hay. Cattle were soon brought in. The federal government decided to build a fort in the Wind River Valley, called Fort Augur, later known as Camp Brown. It was first situated where Lander now is. During the summer especially, Sioux and Arapahoe Indians raided the mining camps and murdered the people in wagon trains and freight wagons. Some means of protecting the people seemed imperative, and a fort was also established in the mining area. The Second Cavalry was sent to man this post. On May 4, 1870, First Lieutenant Charles B. Stambaugh was shot from his horse by raiding Indians as he was helping defend a party of freighters. As a tribute to him the new fort was named Camp Stambaugh.

Fort Stambaugh was established as a permanent post in August, 1870. It is situated in present-day Fremont County, but when built it was in Sweetwater County, Wyoming Territory. The altitude at the fort is 7714 feet.

Dr. S. A. Greenwell, acting assistant surgeon of the army at Fort Stambaugh, gives us the following interesting description of the old fort in his report to Washington in 1875:

"The post or camp is located upon a plain formed by a natural depression in the country, and which embraces nearly the whole extent of the reservation which extends a mile either way from the flagstaff.

"The boundary of the plain is formed by rough and broken country upon all sides with the exception of the northwest, where rise the Wind River mountains to the height of about 600 feet above the fort.

"The soil being alkaline is unproductive, even with irrigation, which has been practised for the purpose of making a company garden, without success.

"The only vegetation that flourishes here is the wild sage. Distant from the post about sixteen miles, in the sheltered valleys and along the streams grass of good quality may be found, and also

vegetables such as potatoes, squashes, and cabbages are grown but they are frequently destroyed before reaching maturity by the appearance of snow and frost, which may occur in any month of the year.

"Timber in the immediate vicinity of the fort is very scarce, none other than cottonwood in small quantities being found bordering the streams. In the mountains about twelve miles distant, pine timber abounds, from which material was obtained for building the fort and from which the annual supply of wood is now obtained.

"The animals in the vicinity are the gray wolf, coyote, antelope, elk, deer and the cinnamon and grizzly bears. The smaller game consists of jack-rabbits, porcupine, beaver, gopher, sage-hens and a few ducks along the streams. Fish are found in considerable numbers, though small in size. The nearest stream from which fish are caught is Twin Creek, nine miles from the post.

"The climate is exceedingly dry during the summer, rain seldom falling. The atmosphere is dry and bracing. The fall of snow generally begins early and may be expected in any month of the year; but usually the winter commences about the first of October and continues until June, and is generally very severe, snow falling to a great depth, attended with violent winds and extreme cold. In the winter of 1871 the snow upon the parade grounds was twenty feet deep. The guard house and the adjutant's office were only accessible through tunnels which were cut through the snow. The coldest day observed was January 24, 1871. The mercury fell to 35° below zero.

"The post is built of wood, principally pine and cottonwood, obtained from the mountains about twelve miles distant. The buildings were all erected without any special foundation other than the ordinary sleepers of hewn logs. The barracks, two in number, built of hewn logs 80 by 32 feet with an L shape 48 by 20 feet, are one story high, and were completed in November 1870. They are shingled and whitewashed, and one set of quarters are ceiled. They are protected on the outside with boards and battens; one chimney on each end and built of bricks; the dormitories, each 60 by 30 feet affording 418 cubic feet of air to each man. There are five windows, twelve panes each, in the dormitory. The old wooden bunks, which were formerly used have been replaced by new ones made of iron. The space of 20 feet partitioned off the main part of the building is divided into an orderly-room, store room, and lavatory. The L part comprises a mess-room 32 feet by 20 feet, and a kitchen 16 by 20 feet. There is also a cellar under one of the barracks.

"The post bakery, 32 by 20 feet, is situated about 25 yards from the hospital, and has a capacity for baking 300 rations at one time.

"The married soldiers' quarters are four in number, built of round logs, 20 by 20 feet, and designed for four rooms each. The

roofs are shingled. But, these quarters are not comfortable, being in bad repair.

"There are four buildings for officer's quarters, built of hewn logs 48 by 36 feet; six rooms, each 16 by 15 feet, with a hall through the center 5 feet wide; three rooms on each side of the hall. The houses are all one story high, plastered between the logs, ceiled and lined inside with boards and canvas and papered; protected on the outside by boards and battens. There are nine rooms which are unfinished. Each house is intended for two families. The front rooms each have two windows, the other rooms, one. The commanding officer's house has a kitchen attached, and a porch in front; the former 24 by 24 feet, and the latter 26 by 7 feet wide.

"The guard house is of hewn logs, covered with boards and earth, 20 by 20 feet, divided into two rooms; one front room for the guard, and the other for prisoners. One end of the prison-room is divided into three cells, each 9 feet high, 6 feet long and three feet wide, ventilated by holes through doors and ceiling; the house is ventilated by doors, windows and grating.

"There are two storehouses, one quartermasters and one commissary, each 64 by 16 feet, built of hewn logs, covered with boards and battens. There is a good brick chimney in the commissary building which is warmed by a stove.

"The stable is built of round logs, 180 by 30 feet, covered with poles, gunny-sacks, and earth, and plastered between the logs with mud. A good well of water is in the stable.

"There are six other buildings, used respectively as grain-house, butcher-shop, adjutant's office, quartermaster's office, carpenter-shop and blacksmith-shop. There is one building, about 300 yards south of the post, used as a slaughter house. About 50 yards east of the post is a corral for mules.

"There are sinks built of lumber in the rear of each barracks, officer's quarters, hospital and two in the rear of the married soldiers' quarters.

"The hospital building is 40 by 36 feet, built of hewn logs, one story high, covered with logs and earth, and protected on the sides by boards and battens, and was erected in the month of October 1870. It contains five rooms, with a hall 7 feet wide for a distance of 16 feet, thence continued 5 feet wide for 24 feet to the rear of the building, through the center. On one side are the ward, 32 by 16 feet and the kitchen 14½ by 8 feet. The ward has a capacity of six beds. Upon the opposite side are the office and dispensary 13 by 16 feet, steward's room, 15 by 16, and mess room, 14½ by 3 feet. The loft over all these rooms is used as a store room. The office is lined, canvassed and papered, the steward's room is also, and the other rooms canvassed only; all ceiled overhead. It was originally intended that a kitchen should be attached to the hospital, but it has not been built, although a kitchen is needed, as the

rooms now occupied for the kitchen and mess-room were intended for isolation wards and consequently there is no room that can be used as such, which should be the case in a well regulated hospital. Several applications have been made to have the hospital building completed according to the original plan, but each has been a failure so far.

The hospital is warmed by wood-burning stoves, and is ventilated through the doors, windows, and floors, to a greater extent than is necessary for the comfort and protection of the occupants. The ward is lighted by three windows; steward's room, mess-room, and kitchen by one each, and the office has two. There is no bath-room attached to the hospital.

"No drainage or sewerage is required other than the natural slope the grounds afford. A stream of water, brought in a ditch from a gulch about a half mile distant, runs during the summer through the post, thus aiding in drainage and sewerage, and also affording an abundant supply of water for all purposes except drinking and cooking, and affording convenient means for extinguishing fires. The water used for drinking and cooking is obtained from two wells, one in front of the married soldiers' quarters and the other in the rear of the officers' quarters. There are two other wells used only for the animals as the water is of an alkaline character. There are no special arrangements for bathing at the post. All refuse matter is transported outside of the post and scattered over the plains.

"During the summer there are frequent Indian raids, generally supposed to be Sioux and Arapahoes, who have succeeded in murdering the settlers and stealing their stock. The nearest friendly Indians are the Shoshones and Bannocks, on their reservation near Camp Brown, about fifty-two miles distant.

"The principal route of travel to the fort is over the Sweetwater stage line from Bryan on the Union Pacific Railroad, over which the mails were brought three times each week.

"The prevailing diseases in the post and surrounding country are catarrh, rheumatism and erysipelas. Malarial fevers are almost unknown. Two cases of typhoid fever have occurred since the post was established. During the past two and a half years but very few cases of venereal disease have been treated, most of the cases being brought from other places, but few having been contracted in the vicinity of the post."

After Dr. Greenwell wrote this report some additional buildings were put up, including a church on the northeast part of the post. This was a welcome addition for the residents of the fort.

There were many interesting people at Fort Stambaugh through the eight years of its existence, and as a consequence, the residents of South Pass City, Hamilton City and Atlantic City visited there often. A number of people who were later to become prominent

in the Lander Valley, were active in the affairs of the fort. Dr. W. C. Stephenson, who became the first Indian Agent at Fort Washakie, was a well-known figure there. He married Hannah Gertrude Irwin at Fort Stambaugh and their first child, Helen Gertrude was born there, the first white child born at the fort. She later married George Baldwin, who was the first white child born in the Lander Valley.

Major Noyes Baldwin, who had been active in several army posts in Wyoming Territory, and had since been mustered out of service, found this wild country had great appeal and he asked for and received an appointment as postmaster and post-trader at Fort Stambaugh. He later started the store in Lander which is still one of the leading businesses, the M. N. Baldwin Co.

Another who contributed to the history of the region was young Robert H. Hall, who had recently come to Wyoming from Sacketts Harbor, New York, to work for Noble Brothers hauling freight from Bryan, a U. P. railroad station, to the mines, the fort and on to Lander Valley. On one of his stops at the fort, the commanding officer learned that Mr. Hall was a telegraph operator and hired him. He worked at the job until the fort was closed. In April, 1878, Mr. Hall returned to New York and married Amelia Lyon who returned to the fort with him. They lived at the fort until it closed. She later became Lander's first school teacher.

In August, 1878, the fort was abandoned. The mines were beginning to close and many people were leaving the area. The Indians were not as hostile as they once had been and there seemed little further need for Stambaugh. The fort touched in many ways the lives of pioneer people who remembered it with gratitude and appreciation for its contribution to their safety and social lives. Some say that there wasn't as much gold taken during the eight years of its existence as it cost to build the fort, but who is to say what its value was. Some of the buildings were moved to neighboring towns; only one, to my knowledge, is in Lander, the property of Mrs. Edna Obert.

As we stand here today amidst the piles of earth, broken brick and shiny pieces of glass and crockery with the pungent scent of the sage in the sweet mountain air we must ponder, in all seriousness, the tremendous undertaking this project was for the builders of the fort, the two companies of the Second Cavalry and their families, who lived here through all kinds of weather, harrowing experiences and hardships. Soldiers and pioneers all—we salute you.

3:15 P.M. After a typical mountain drive we arrived in Atlantic City where we passed the general store and drove up a hill to St. Andrew's Episcopal Church which has recently been restored. A splendid view of the little town was had from this vantage point.

## STORY OF ATLANTIC CITY

By Tom Shaffer

The town of Atlantic City was begun on April 15th, 1868, about eight months after South Pass City was established. A newspaper estimate of the population in 1869 was 500 persons, but the 1870 census counted 325. In that year, the town contained four general stores, a hardware store, a second hand store, two drug stores, two hotels, a cigar store, two livery stables, two breweries, a lumber-yard, a dance hall, two blacksmiths, three restaurants, and seven saloons. There were also several quartz mills, saw mills and an arrastra nearby. The town was served by two daily stage lines, one from Point of Rocks, and one from Bryan City which also carried Wells Fargo express. Of some 1500 mining claims and approximately 150 mines in the area, only about 50 mines were profitable. The saloon and store we drove by are original, as are both of the livery stables and many of the cabins one can see from this point.

The large log building seen on the far side of town is one of the most famous structures here. It is the Carpenter Hotel, built about 1900 by Jim and Ellen Carpenter. For years it was well known for its excellent, yet low cost, family style meals and homey atmosphere. Purchased in 1963 by Paul and Gina Newman, it is now operated as the Miner's Delight Dining Room, with gourmet meals served by reservation only. Much of the original furniture and character of the building have been retained by the new owners.

The straight line seen running along the upper half of the hills above the hotel is the Grainier Ditch. Built in the '80s, at a cost of \$100,000, it was 15 miles long and contained several flumes. Emil Grainier, the French engineer who conceived and engineered the project, envisioned it as a supplier of water to mining operations along Rock Creek. Due to the many washouts and resulting cost of maintenance, it was a financial failure and Mr. Grainier had to skip the country.

In the 1870s, as the boom ended and mines started to fill with water, the people began to leave. By the turn of the century only 100 were left and in 1950 Atlantic City had only two permanent residents. With the advent of the iron mine in 1958, construction crews for a time populated the town. In the mid 1960s, employees of the iron mine and summer home seekers re-discovered the town and the population began a slow increase. At the present time there are about 35 permanent residents and a summer population of around 100.

The town is envisioned as the commercial center for the Historic South Pass Mining Area, which is being developed and maintained by the Bureau of Land Management, the Wyoming Recreation Commission, the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Depart-

ment and private citizens in cooperation with several other agencies and organizations.

St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, standing here, was built around 1900. It stood neglected and decaying for several years until the late 1960s, when some local residents began its restoration. Work was far enough along that services could be held in 1969, and restoration was completed in 1971. All of the furnishings, including the lights, are original. Many of the pieces required a great deal of repair due to water damage. Services are held at 4:00 p.m. each Sunday throughout the summer months.

3:35 P.M. The road from Atlantic City was scenic over the mountains and through the trees. Time did not permit us to take the road on which many mines were located but we saw the Carissa mine (Cariso was the original spelling). It was the first major discovery, proved to be the richest in the district and closed for the last time about 1960.

3:50 - 4:25 P.M. Everyone wandered around South Pass City looking at the restored hotel, saloon, general store, jail and the cave which was where residents went for safety during Indian attacks.

4:25 P.M. As we left South Pass City we passed the old jail and traveled up the hill. On the left is a small cemetery. Only three markers remain although approximately 90 persons were buried here. As we crossed the cattle guard the Oregon Trail veered off to the left. It continued seven miles to South Pass Station, commonly known as Burnt Ranch. This was at the site of the last crossing of the Sweetwater for those who came on the westward branch of the trail from Ice Slough. It was from Burnt Ranch that the Lander Cutoff began.

On the distant horizon to the left can be seen Continental Peak. To the right are the flat-topped Oregon Buttes. These were so named because they were the first land in Oregon country sighted by the pioneers. Shortly after crossing the Sweetwater River we turned off the highway on a good dirt road. The railroad we crossed was built in 1958 to carry the ore from U. S. Steel's Atlantic City iron mine.

One half mile from the railroad we left the road to drive directly on the Oregon Trail to South Pass, where are located two interesting markers—one for Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, the first white women to cross South Pass. The other marker was for Ezra Meeker who had used three modes of travel through the pass—ox team, automobile and airplane.

## STORY OF SOUTH PASS

By Norman Dickinson

May I preface my remarks by giving credit to my good friends Fred D. Stratton and Fred Stratton, Jr. for their information about the two markers in front of you. The Strattons owned South Pass City for seven years from 1948 to 1955. Fred D. Stratton was married to Ada Nelle Nickerson, daughter of Captain H. G. Nickerson. Fred Stratton, Jr. is a grandson of Captain Nickerson. The captain was living in Virginia City, Montana, when he heard of the gold strike at South Pass and moved to here in 1868. He was president of the Oregon Trail Commission from 1913 to 1921. This commission was responsible for marking the Oregon Trail in cooperation with the D.A.R. and the S.A.R. While living in Lander, Captain Nickerson carved stone markers in his back yard and hauled them to the sites by team and wagon. He marked many sites and was often accompanied by Fred Stratton.

In June, 1916, Captain Nickerson placed the Whitman-Spalding marker which you see before you. A few feet to the right of this marker, to the east, you see the original South Pass Oregon Trail Marker placed by Ezra Meeker in 1903. He traveled in a covered wagon drawn by oxen in 1852 while enroute to Oregon. In later years he organized the Oregon Trail Memorial Association and placed many other markers. He said that he placed the markers "to preserve the identity of the track and to honor the pioneers who wore it so wide and deep by their feet and by the hooves of their oxen and the grind of their wagon tires."

The terrain in our vicinity is as gentle as on the prairie. The snow-topped Wind River Range, which is a part of the Continental Divide, is to the north, and just out of sight is the 13,785-foot Gannett Peak, Wyoming's highest elevation. The elevation here is about 7500 feet so South Pass is well over a mile lower than Gannett Peak. The Wind River Mountains accommodate mankind by making a decided down slope in this area. Animal and Indian trails were the predecessors of the Oregon Trail. You are standing between the Sweetwater River which drains to the east and Pacific Creek which drains to the Pacific Ocean. Ezra Meeker placed the marker about as close as he could get it to the top of the divide. South Pass City is some 15 miles to the northeast and its altitude is 7805 feet.

Elephant Butte is directly west of the markers and three or four miles to the south are the Oregon Buttes. From Highway 28 we can see Pacific Springs in the valley near the west end of Elephant Butte. The springs are the origin of Pacific Creek. The Oregon Trail passed miles south of both Atlantic City and South Pass City. Neither of these villages existed during the greater migration period. We are on the exact site of the Oregon Trail but must realize that the many square miles around us allow passage over the divide

in many places and certainly this happened. South Pass is not a distinct col as are many mountain passes. If you have tried to follow the Sweetwater from Split Rock to the top you have experienced the most rugged terrain and it is little wonder that pioneer letters spoke highly of the pass itself. South Pass may be considered the keyhole for the nation's western migration. It has been estimated that more than 300,000 people migrated over it during the mid-nineteenth century. Ezra Meeker estimated that 40,000 used the pass in 1852 and that the mortality for this year was 5000. If you wish to consider our surroundings a stage, nothing in Shakespeare can surpass the comedy and tragedy that occurred on this stage.

Robert Stuart and the returning Astorians crossed South Pass October 22, 1812. Stuart gave the pass its name. He had been with the Wilson Price Hunt expedition which crossed Union Pass in 1811 and probably named South Pass because Union Pass was farther north. Some authors credit Jim Bridger and Provost with discovery of South Pass in 1823. General William H. Ashley with 43 trappers explored the area in 1823 and Ashley named the Sweetwater. In 1824 Thomas Fitzpatrick of Ashley's Fur Company established the first rendezvous on the Green (Sisk-ke-dee) River and he crossed South Pass to reach the river. The much-traveled Captain Benjamin Bonneville crossed the pass in 1832 and is credited with taking the first wagon train over the pass. The year 1843 is generally given as the beginning of the great migration.

Gold was first discovered at South Pass in 1842. A member of the American Fur Company made the discovery, and was killed by Indians shortly after. His discovery led to an influx of gold-seekers. In July, 1847, the Old Mormon Trail was established over South Pass when a Mormon Party used it enroute to Mexican Territory. Many of you have seen the memorial marker on Rock Creek which tells of the tragic deaths of members of the Mormon Willie Company which was caught in a blizzard in 1856.

What is known as Burnt Ranch was originally the South Pass Stage Station established by Russell, Majors and Waddell in 1859. This was essentially the Y in the Oregon Trail as various trails, depending on the destinations of groups and individuals, branched from this station. The significance of this station has been underestimated. Colonel W. F. Lander began his survey for the Lander Cutoff at the Burnt Ranch area in 1856. The government designation for the cutoff was the Fort Kearney, South Pass and Honey Lake Route. The cutoff was to proceed to Fort Hall in Idaho. *Annals of Wyoming* for April, 1959, contains a very good map of the Lander Cutoff on page 76. The trail marker may be seen to your right as you travel west on Highway 28. It is a short distance east of the South Pass Continental Divide marker.

The Pony Express used South Pass in 1860 for 18 months. The Ben Holladay Overland Stage Company and Wells Fargo and

Company both established a stage line to service South Pass in the 1860s.

5:00 P.M. We retraced our route to the highway. As we traveled along we watched for the Lander Cutoff sign on the right. This road was originally used by the Indians and trappers of the fur period. General F. W. Lander improved it in 1859 under a contract.

Another Fort Stambaugh monument was seen on the left overlooking U. S. Steel's Atlantic City iron mine. Red Canyon, one of the most beautiful places in Wyoming, was on the left as we went down the mountain. This valley is now a winter range for elk and owned by the Wyoming Game and Fish Commission. The ranch house at the bottom of the valley was built around a stage station. The road winding down Red Canyon was part of a stage road to Camp Brown, which was located where the town of Lander now stands.

#### DINNER

6:30 P.M. Mr. Norbert Ribble, president, and members of the Fremont County Chapter arranged an excellent dinner for us at the Elks' Club in Lander. It was a come-as-you-are buffet and was a fine climax for our day on the old trail.

## *Book Reviews*

*The Passing of the Great West. Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell.* Ed., John F. Reiger (New York: Winchester Press, 1972). Index. Illus. 182 pp. \$8.95.

In June, 1870, Professor Othniel C. Marsh and twelve assistants departed New Haven, Connecticut, for a geological expedition in the "wild and woolly" American West. Among this party of adventurers was George Bird Grinnell, a man destined to roam virtually every part of the Great West during his lifetime. Grinnell's early association with the Audubon family, his intimate connection with Marsh, his flair for adventure, and his enchantment with the West stimulated his interest in natural history. Thus he joined both George Armstrong's Custer's expedition into the Black Hills in 1874 and William Ludlow's excursion into Yellowstone Park in 1875. Moreover, Grinnell made numerous other explorations and purchased a ranch in southeastern Wyoming. By 1883 he had become the editor of *Forest and Stream* and a pioneer conservationist; he had seen "progress" despoil the West he so loved.

According to John F. Reiger, Grinnell greatly influenced Theodore Roosevelt's views on conservation, preparing him to accept the ideas of Gifford Pinchot. In addition to crusading for preservation of the nation's natural wonders, Grinnell became an authority on the Plains Indians. He lived until 1929, continuing his crusades for ecology almost until the day of his death. The focus of this book is on the years from 1870 to 1883 when Grinnell witnessed *The Passing of the Great West*. An introduction, a chapter on his early years, and an epilogue are used to place this period of his life in its proper perspective.

Professor Reiger lets Grinnell tell as much of his own story as possible, with the major source being the adventurer's unpublished memoirs. The format of the book is unlike most editions of private papers; rather, it resembles a biography with Reiger spicing Grinnell's writings with introductions, transitions, interpretations, and conclusions. This is done with such skill that the narrative flows quite smoothly. The success of this approach is due not only to the editor's expertise, but also to the eloquent quality of Grinnell's writing. Grinnell's prose is packed with action and description. Indeed, adjectives and adverbs in profusion are used to paint pictures with words, allowing the imaginative reader to share vicariously the sights and emotions experienced by Grinnell as he journeyed through the West.

Scholars will be pleased to find that the book is documented carefully, although the notes inconveniently are placed in the back

of the book. Also included is a "Selected Bibliography" and an ample index. Two large sections of photographs contain many interesting scenes, including pictures of Laramie and Cheyenne.

Anyone interested in the old West or in the beginnings of the conservation movement in America will find this book delightful. It is both scholarly and readable.

*Oklahoma State University,  
Stillwater*

PAUL F. LAMBERT

*The Donner Party.* By George Keithley. (New York: George Braziller, 1972). 175 pp. \$6.50.

An effort to put a complex, tragic episode of history into poetic narrative is bound to upset the purists—the pure historians and the pure poets.

For poetic license inevitably rules out strict accuracy; in turn, the demands of the true life tale restrict the poet.

Understanding this, George Keithley, a young California poet with distinguished work behind him, has produced a beautiful, somewhat fictionalized, long poem recounting the disturbing journey and disaster of the Donner Party in 1846.

In the spring of that year a group of farm families, led by George Donner, set out from Springfield, Illinois, for California. With high hopes for the promised country where "All year you can smell the bloom in the air and farm the fertile land," they reached Independence, Missouri, and were joined by others bound for California. Crossing the Mississippi and on into the Great Plains, their train of 500 wagons traversed "miles of yellow meadow."

Events of the spring and early summer are almost idyllic; with George Donner's eyes and simple language we see the land and sky and water, the Little Sandy crossing in Wyoming, the Wasatch Mountains of Utah.

Then "all around the snow began to whine in the air."

Trapped in the Sierra snows that winter without provisions, betrayed by guides and faulty maps, the travelers faced incredible hardships. Morale sank and heroism faltered.

Earlier the expedition had foundered in the salt desert. The straggling families, out of water, had watched their cattle die.

Starving men resorted to the horrors of cannibalism.

With dignity and understatement, the tragedy unfolds and death approaches for the remnants of the Donner Party.

"The jays perch in the pines and cry  
and wherever we may sleep  
among the dead we will rise

together under the trees  
like men who are set free  
from the folly of a dream  
into the fragrant morning. . .”

George Keithley has written a minor American epic poem, characterized by restraint, simplicity of style, and lack of poetic devices. The three-line stanza form, adhered to rather to the point of monotony, only occasionally introduces rhyme.

Not the style, but the content, however, will remind some readers of Stephen Vincent Benet's “John Brown's Body,” others of Homer and the tales in the *Odyssey*.

The trek of the Donner Party was a grim one, and the poet gives it dimension by a faithful study of the land it transgressed. He not only researched the history of the ill-fated journey, but he retraced the route, even snowshoeing in winter into the Sierras and the area of the Donner camp sites, and through what is now called Donner Pass.

There is a message in man's constant battle with the forces of earth and nature and with himself. A few of the starving band escaped to safety. George Donner and his wife are left dying, and in the man's imagination they are buried under the earth, bodies pressing upward towards the California land of their desire.

Our western history has inspired too little poetry, it seems to me. We have need of another Walt Whitman, another Ralph Waldo Emerson, who set a votive stone at Concord,

“That memory may their deeds redeem,  
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.”

So let us not nit-pick, from the historian's view, a narrative poem in which history and fantasy merge. That reality and the imagination can co-exist is here demonstrated, leaving us with an intensely moving human experience.

Laramie County Community College  
Cheyenne

ADELINE McCABE

*Dodge City: Up Through a Century in Story and Pictures.* By Fredric R. Young (Dodge City: High Plains Publishers, 1972). Index. Illus. 202 pp. \$10.00.

This is an engaging book. Prepared for Dodge City's centennial celebration, it captures in a lively text and more than 500 illustrations the full flavor of that community's early days as a military outpost, trading center, railhead, and cattle town. It recalls vividly the famous and infamous men and women who built a legend around Dodge City that still persists in the popular mind. And it provides a fascinating pictorial chronicle of the town after the

collapse of the cattle economy which documents its transition into the twentieth century.

Fredric Young acknowledges an intellectual debt to Dodge City's earlier historians, Stanley Vestal and Robert R. Dykstra. His treatment falls somewhere between theirs in the historiography of Kansas cattle towns, but ultimately it is the most satisfying. Young allows the sources to speak for themselves and neither embroiders fiction on a fabric of truth nor reads between the lines in search of history-as-it-never-was. The result is as refreshing as it is rewarding.

Local history published locally has the reputation of being notoriously bad, but this handsome book is a noteworthy exception. It avoids, for the most part, the kind of booster journalism common to such volumes, and for that the author and publisher must be commended. It is to be hoped that their example will be emulated.

*University of Oklahoma Press*

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR.

*Overland Days to Montana in 1865. The Diary of Sarah Raymond and The Journal of Dr. Waid Howard.* Ed. by Raymond W. and Mary Lund Settle. American Trail Series, Vol. 8. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1971). Index. Illus. 232 pp. \$10.50.

The book contains the diary of 25-year-old Sarah Raymond, covering the period from May 1, 1865, to September 6, 1865, and the journal of Dr. Waid Howard, from about June 16, 1865, to September 12, 1865.

Miss Raymond, her mother, Delilah M. Raymond, and two younger brothers were on their way from northeastern Missouri to Virginia City, then Idaho Territory, now in the state of Montana.

Sarah Raymond was indeed an exceptional person, as her diary clearly reveals. This removes the document from being just another emigrant journal to add to the already voluminous collections of such materials. The diary deserves to be called a classic among narratives of travel along frontier trails.

Sarah had a zest for living that made each morning the start of a new and exciting adventure, and a flair for words that enabled her to reflect her excitement and wonder at the ever-changing events that each day brought. She was thus able to convey that excitement and wonder to readers of her narrative and kindle their interest so that they, in a sense, become companions on the trail.

Dr. Waid Howard was a member of a train which traveled and camped close to the train of which the Raymond family were members. Dr. Howard, on his visits to the Hardinbrooke train, often talked with Sarah. His first visit was in search of "the best

and most wholesome bread that is baked on this road," which he had been told he would find at the Raymond wagons.

Dr. Howard's journal is much like most of the journals kept by travelers on western trails, except that he does show that he possessed a sense of humor.

Attached to the journal is a poem by the Doctor concerning his journey, which is more notable for its geographic references than its poetic values.

Sarah and the Doctor were in neighboring wagon trains and dated the entries in their narratives, making it possible to compare the entries. This adds to the interest and the value of both documents.

The editor's unusual arrangement of Sarah's diary is difficult to follow. The pages are divided lengthwise into two columns. About half of each column is used for reproduction of the diary; the upper portion of the left-hand columns and the lower portion of the right-hand columns for this purpose. This device allowed the placing of two pages of a 1902 publication of the diary to be placed on one page of the volume being reviewed, published in 1971. This format results in small print that makes the reading more difficult. No explanation is given for the departure from normal book form.

There are five pages of photographs and one sketch in the volume, as well as an eleven-page "Introduction" by the editors, which is followed by a map of the route traveled. A bibliography and an index are also contained in this interesting book.

*Eastern Wyoming College  
Torrington*

WILLIAM J. SHAY

*The Golden Age of Shotgunning.* By Bob Hinman. (New York: Winchester Press, 1971). Illus. 175 pp. \$8.95.

Obviously, *The Golden Age of Shotgunning* was written and published in expectation that a special class of readers, an all but captive group, would guarantee at least a return of the expenses involved. The sport of shotgunning (field and traps) claims sufficient devotees to insure that much for almost any good book published on the subject. Beyond these dedicated followers it is a sport possessing, especially in its trap-ground and duck-marsh clubhouses, a certain historic prestige—in fact an appeal to snobbery if taken in that light. Also it is one of a few sports, not physically too strenuous, which offer to the sheltered, civilized man an opportunity to prove prowess in a primordial skill. Thus, the book will be opened by others than those who are intensely and factually interested in its subject. Once into it a number such

will continue to the end for Mr. Hinman proves himself an interesting story teller who writes in an easy, pleasing style.

According to Mr. Hinman this golden age of shotgunning, because of social and technological developments (the settling and populating of virgin lands on the one hand, and the results of mechanical and scientific advancements on the other hand), came into its flowering during the final three decades of the 19th century. In developing his theme he writes about the hunting scene—the wilderness inevitably succumbing to increasing population and agricultural expansion; the market hunter—providing a relatively small but not unimportant share of a developing nation's food supply; the significantly popular shooting matches—live targets and clay birds; the mechanics of a phenomenon that was both a sport and a profession—trap equipment, field equipment, shot and powder; the gun—muzzle loaders, breech loaders, true cylinder barrels and choke bores; the men who shot the guns—crack shots and cranks; and the men who made the guns—inventors and master craftsmen.

Hinman's description of the hunting scene is interesting and, if read carefully, provides much food for reflection. He evidently has been a keen observer in the wilderness but, more important, has realized that no one person—if for no other reason than the shortness of a single lifetime—can see, and fully comprehend from what he sees, all of nature's workings. He has, for example, delved deeply into the history of the passenger pigeon and, though briefly said in his writing, the reasons behind the extinction of that species. It would undoubtedly broaden the consciousness of some of today's "instant ecologists" if they were able to read with an open and discerning mind not only what he has put down in legible print but what is implied between the lines—though not explicitly developed, perhaps because not explicitly relevant to the chosen theme. It also could be helpful if a few of today's wildlife managing experts should, by chance, give a careful reading to his observations. Too many such officials suffer from an imbalanced education, they know all of the scientific facts about an individual animal but are sadly handicapped by an inadequate academic perspective of any total species.

The balance of this book, as meagerly recorded in a preceding paragraph, is not of general public interest. It is more properly intended for the membership of a distinctive sportsmen's grouping. Hinman's recitation of shooting champions and their records is, for example, as boring to the layman as the study of a full season's box scores of any baseball team would be for anyone other than a dyed-in-the-wool fan of the particular team. But for him, for the true shotgun enthusiast, this list of champions and records may make as enthralling reading as is, one presumes, scripture to the theologian.

Regardless of reception by the general public, the fraternity of

shotgun enthusiasts being a large one this book will prove of interest to an extensive audience.

*Wyoming Recreation Commission  
Cheyenne*

NEDWARD FROST

*Hostiles and Horse Soldiers: Indian Battles and Campaigns in the West.* By Lonnie J. White et al. (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1972) Illus. 231 pp. \$8.95.

The fascination of the American public with the Indian Wars of the West is the apparent reason for the compilation of this volume of previously published essays. In the January, 1972, issue of the *Journal of the West* Lonnie J. White was guest editor for a special volume devoted to the Indian campaigns, and four of those essays are included here. Five other chapters, each by Professor White, were published in earlier issues of the same journal.

The chapter topics should be familiar to most readers, for all have been described numerous times before. Lonnie White recounts the well-known story of the Sand Creek Massacre, which has been the subject of a thorough book by Stan Hoig as well as many articles and chapters in other books. He also describes the engagements at Saline River and Prairie Dog Creek in 1867, the role of the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in Phil Sheridan's winter campaign in 1868-1869, and battles in the Texas Panhandle during the Red River War of 1874. All have been described before, and little can be added to these accounts.

While the first five chapters at least have some continuity in that they all involve the tribes of the central and southern plains, the remaining four chapters have no such unity. Jerry Keenan, for example, describes the Wagon Box Fight, a Wyoming battle that has been studied and restudied, while James T. King evaluates George Crook's actions following the Battle of the Rosebud. As King is preparing a biography of Crook and this controversial episode forms a portion of his overall evaluation of the general, this is the most important chapter in *Hostiles and Horse Soldiers*.

The concluding items consist of the edited letters of Major Edwin Mason, a participant in the Bannock-Paiute War of 1878, and the reminiscences of a trooper who served during Nelson Miles' campaign against Geronimo. The latter is quite general and was obviously written some years after the events although the editor does not indicate when it was written and fails to provide any information about the author.

There is no discernible theme to this book. It does not single out and emphasize the most significant battles with the western tribes; it does not concentrate on a particular tribe or region; it does not provide much in the way of new perspectives and infor-

mation. Instead it is simply a miscellany of previously published essays about well-known events.

*University of New Mexico  
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RICHARD N. ELLIS

*J. Sterling Morton.* By James C. Olson (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society Foundation, 1972.) Index. Illus. 45i pp. \$7.95.

Current intense interest in ecology has served to enhance the stature of J. Sterling Morton, founder of Arbor Day, prominent Nebraska politician and Secretary of Agriculture during Grover Cleveland's second administration. Republished in commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Arbor Day, this biography provides both an examination of its subject and his role in the development of Nebraska, as territory and state, and the nation in a time of unusually stressful change.

James C. Olson, formerly departmental chairman and dean in the University of Nebraska and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society, is now Chancellor of the University of Missouri—Kansas City. He is the author of the standard *History of Nebraska* and *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*. This study, originally published in 1942, was based largely on the previously unused Morton papers.

Morton's prominence in Nebraska dated from the early territorial days. He served as acting governor and territorial secretary and sought election as territorial delegate to Congress, as governor and United States senator following statehood. He promoted the Democratic party as willing candidate and campaign manager. His determination to serve Nebraska stimulated his pursuits as an agriculturalist and horticulturalist. Finally, he served as a forceful and colorful speaker, writer and lobbyist for Nebraska railroads, particularly the Burlington and Missouri. As Olson clearly delineates these aspects of Morton's career his attitude toward his subject becomes clear. Simultaneously, the reader may be questioning the author's basic assessment of Morton the individual. For example, Olson never doubts Morton's belief that what was good for the Burlington was good for Nebraska. And yet, as the author points out, the rift between Morton and his colleague, Dr. George L. Miller, editor of the *Omaha Herald* and defender of that city's Union Pacific interests, began over the danger of sectionalization of the party and the state which stemmed from a conflict between the competing railroad interests the two men represented. Further, the book's sympathetic tone is discerned in the treatment of Morton's ambivalence toward "the value of public life." Although Morton eschewed active political life in the 1870s, before and after that decade he appeared to be the "eternal candidate";

and Olson accepts at face value the politician's contradictory attitudes.

The author's basic approach, however, does not diminish the basic value of the book. Professor Olson provides a thorough chronicle of Morton's activities in state and national politics. He details Morton's resistance to former crony William Jennings Bryan over the money question. The staunch free-trade position which he held, and which earned him many enemies from within his own state's Democracy, is also placed in state and national perspective. Morton's outstanding, if controversial, tenure as Secretary of Agriculture is of particular interest to Westerners. The spoils system basis for appointments and alleged paternalistic activities (such as the traditional distribution of free seed to farmers) of his department were targets in his strenuous campaign for economy and efficiency. All of this advanced him as a Bourbon leader. Indeed, Morton's career is an illustration of the ideology and efforts of conservative Democrats which enabled the Republican party of the late 19th century to piece together a majority program and appeal. But his promotion of tree planting perhaps overshadows his political endeavors. He was not interested only in the physical environment; rather he felt that trees possessed a moral, character-shaping force which they could impart to people. At this stage in our history, both phases of Morton's career make a re-consideration of him important and the reappearance of his study welcome.

*University of Nebraska  
Lincoln*

DAVID H. HOOBER

*Theodore Roosevelt Outdoorsman.* By R. L. Wilson. (New York: Winchester Press, 1972). Index. Illus. 278 pp. \$12.95.

This book is for hunters and lovers of guns. There are many illustrations and detailed descriptions of many types of guns. It contains information not found in other books about this famous man, who was "always in a state of perpetual motion."

Physically weak and with poor eyesight, Theodore Roosevelt first conditioned himself to a vigorous life in Dakota Territory, starting in 1883 when he was 35 years old. At what later became Medora, North Dakota, he became a cowboy and ranch owner, spending long hours in the saddle. "Here," he said, "the romance of my life began." It was a romance and love of nature and natural things that deeply influenced his whole life. After the tragic loss of both his wife and mother at the same time in New York, cowpunching and hunting revitalized Roosevelt. He wrote, "The country is growing on me, more and more; it has a curious, fantastic beauty of its own . . . How sound I do sleep at night!"

As a New York politician and legislator, Roosevelt was always

strongly opposed to corruption in government and worked for minority groups such as the poorly paid laborers and farmers. He spoke vigorously for political reform and often sacrificed his desire for outdoor activity to promote good government. He was also a student of literature and a writer. *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* was the first of his many books. A keen observer of nature, he wrote in a clear, flowing style full of vivid descriptions of his adventures.

Politically, he worked vigorously for justice in early public offices he held: police commissioner of New York City and assistant secretary of the U. S. Navy under President McKinley.

When war with Spain came after the sinking of the battleship in Havana harbor, Roosevelt, as a lieutenant-colonel, organized his regiment of volunteer cavalrymen, mostly cowboys. He drilled these men with Spartan discipline. Later in Cuba these "Rough Riders" made their famous charge up San Juan Hill, led by Roosevelt and facing withering rifle fire.

Home after the war and idolized by many, Roosevelt became governor of New York, and, unwillingly, vice-president of the United States as he did not want a "do-nothing" job. But he soon became president after McKinley's assassination. His first official act was ending a major coal strike. Then in November, 1902, Roosevelt went on a bear hunting trip in Mississippi. He found no bears but a guide brought an old lame bear bound with ropes into camp so "he would be sure and get one." Roosevelt refused to shoot the bear. Hence the "Teddy Bear" story and many popular Teddy Bear toys.

Politicians will enjoy reading about Roosevelt's presidency; his organization of the "Bull Moose" party when he could not agree with Republican leaders; and his defeat and Taft's when Woodrow Wilson was elected president. Hunters will enjoy the account of his safari to Africa after big game. Oddly enough, on his last hunt in 1915 in Quebec, a bull moose chased him and his guide and kept them paddling for over an hour in a canoe.

Thinking ahead of his time, Roosevelt was a great conservationist. To him the fullness and quality of life in America was directly dependent on the nation's ability to conserve its natural resources. As president he created the U. S. Forest Service, and signed into existence five national parks.

Lusk

MAE URBANEK

*The Oregon Trail Revisited.* By Gregory M. Franzwa. (St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1972). Index. Illus. 417 pp. \$7.50. Paper, \$2.95.

Professional and amateur Oregon Trail historians have received this book with enthusiasm. It is equally useful and

enlightening to the armchair historian and to the Trail buff who literally follows the old route across the Western states. The book is in two parts, the first a broad history of the Oregon Trail and its impact upon 19th century America, followed by a brief, general outline of its route. The second part is a detailed guide designed to direct the reader to the exact points where the old trail crosses the public roadways of the present time. This section includes a great deal of interesting historical data pertinent to the specific areas being visited. Foreword of the book is by George B. Hartzog, Jr., director, National Park Service.

*Kemmerer, Wyoming. The Founding of An Independent Coal Town. 1897-1902.* By Glen Barrett. (Kemmerer: Quealy Services, Incorporated, 1972). Illus. 92 pp.

Published during Kemmerer's 75th anniversary year, this study is the initial part of a larger study which will mark the town's centennial observance in 1997. The book is based on many books, documents and public and private records. Kemmerer is unique in that it was founded by both coal and railroad interests and nearly a third of the book is devoted to the town's beginnings. The early years from 1897 to 1902 have been researched for the express purpose of identifying the objectives of the town's founders, the response of the people who struggled with the perplexing community-company relationship and the nature of the institutions they established.

*The Restoration of Leather Bindings.* By Bernard C. Middleton. Drawings by Aldren A. Watson. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1972). Index. Illus. 201 pp. \$10.00.

This volume is the second in the American Library Association's Library Technical Program series, Conservation of Library Materials. It is an excellent companion volume to the second edition of Carolyn Horton's *Cleaning and Preserving Bindings and Related Materials*, published by the ALALTP in 1969. Middleton thoroughly covers the methodology and equipment used in effective restoration of leather bindings. His excellent narrative is implemented through Watson's fine technical illustrations.

*Texans, Guns & History.* By Col. Charles Askins. (New York: Winchester Press, 1970). Index. Illus. 246 pp. \$8.95.

Col. Askins is a San Antonio resident and veteran of the U. S. Border Patrol. He is the author of six other books and some

1000 articles and stories in various magazines. This book, through a combination of an informative text and a collection of rare photographs, brings to the reader many colorful characters and exciting incidents of early Texas.

*Maverick Tales. True Stories of Early Texas.* By J. D. Rittenhouse. (New York: Winchester Press, 1971). Index. 248 pp. \$8.95.

This is a collection of true tales from the country southwest of Red River, the stream that separates Oklahoma from Texas. The region includes western Louisiana, most of Texas, and a part of New Mexico. For many years the author owned and operated the Stagecoach Press, New Mexico's only private handpress devoted exclusively to printing fine books on Southwestern Americana. The author says the book was not written for the professional historian but as a sampler for the world, to be read for pleasure.

*Cooking Over Coals.* By Mel Marshall. (New York: Winchester Press, 1971). Index. 314 pp. \$8.95.

Author of this unusual cookbook is a former newspaperman, who has pursued the hobbies of outdoor sports and cooking for many years. This book has not only the recipes, but also the simple techniques and basic equipment that make cooking over coals a pleasure. Most of the recipes are concerned with the preparation of wild game—the origin of outdoor cookery—and commercial meat substitutes are suggested. There are also dozens of recipes for fish, vegetables, stews and desserts which can be prepared over the open fire, as well as most of the classics for outdoor baking.

*The Meaning of Freedom of Speech. First Amendment Freedoms from Wilson to FDR.* By Paul L. Murphy. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972). Index. 401 pp. \$14.50.

Murphy is professor of history and American Studies at the University of Minnesota, and currently is Visiting Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Lagos, Nigeria. In this book, the role of dissent and its suppression in American life is analyzed. The period encompassed by the book is 1918-1939.

*The West of Owen Wister. Selected Short Stories.* Introduction by Robert L. Hough. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972). Bison Book. 247 pp. \$4.50. Paper, \$1.95.

## *Contributors*

ROBERT A. MURRAY, of Sheridan, is a frequent contributor to *Annals* and is well known in the western history field through his many publications and extensive research. Currently director of Western Interpretive Services in Sheridan, he has served as a consultant on western history, a teacher, and a National Park Service historian at various parks and museums. He received his education at Wayne State College in Nebraska and at Kansas State University. Among his publications are *Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865-1894*; *The Army on Powder River, and Citadel on the Santa Fe Trail*.

FRANCIS BOYER was born in Penllyn, Pennsylvania, in 1893. Now retired, he formerly was chairman and president of Smith Kline & French Laboratories in Philadelphia. He is the son of Henry C. Boyer whose letters appear in this volume. Francis Boyer attended Episcopal Academy, 1903-1906; Groton School, 1906-1912; Harvard College, 1912-1915; and Cambridge University, England, in 1919. He saw military service on the Mexican border in 1916 and in France from 1917-1919. He is a member of the Philadelphia Club and an honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine, London.

THE REVEREND C. LEE MILLS is a retired Priest of the Episcopal Church and currently Rector Emeritus of Christ Church, Redondo Beach, California. He was ordained June 21, 1931, at St. Peter's Church, Sheridan, Wyoming, served at the Church of the Holy Communion in Rock Springs and was Vicar of Jackson Hole. Reverend Mills also has served at churches in Arizona and California. Born at Laurel, Nebraska, in 1899, he moved to Wyoming in 1900. He received his B.A. degree at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1925. In 1931, he received his Bachelor of Divinity from Seabury Divinity School in Minnesota, and in 1971, he received his Master of Divinity from Seabury-Western Divinity School in Illinois. His hobbies include music, Western Americana and history, and poetry. An early memory is of attending the dedication of the Fetterman Monument near Story and shaking hands with General Henry B. Carrington.

VIRGINIA COLE TRENHOLM, of Cheyenne, received her B.J. and M.A. degrees from the University of Missouri. Before moving to Wyoming in 1932, she was on the faculty of Stephens College and Park College. Her published books are *Footprints on the Frontier; Wyoming Pageant* and *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies*,

both co-authored with Maurine Carley; and *The Arapahoes, Our People*, published in 1970. Mrs. Trenholm is a member of numerous honorary and professional organizations and is listed in *Who's Who of American Women* and *Foremost Women in Communications*.

DAVID SHAUL, Cheyenne, is a student at the University of Arizona in Tucson. He is majoring in the Chinese language and expects to be graduated with a B.A. degree in 1973 after completing three years of study. An honor graduate of Cheyenne East High School in 1970, he expects to earn a degree in music after completion of his language work. In the summer of 1972, Shaul was awarded a Smithsonian Institution fellowship to work in an American Indian language program in Washington, D.C.

GLENN BURKES, a native of Arkansas, came to Wyoming as a youth. He attended Goshen County Community College (now Eastern Wyoming College, Torrington) and completed his undergraduate work at the University of Wyoming. He served as an enlisted man in the army from 1961-1963, attaining the rank of sergeant. He entered the army again in 1968 as an officer and presently holds the rank of captain. He and his family recently completed a tour of duty in Germany. He was on the staff of Fort Laramie National Historic Site as a seasonal historian in the summers of 1966-1967. He is a charter member of the Council on Abandoned Military Posts.

DAVID LAYMON, who drew the sketches for "Absaroka, The Land and People," in this issue, is a freshman student at the University of Wyoming, majoring in art. A graduate of Cheyenne's East High School in 1972, he was active in concert choir and the school's musical productions, intramural sports and Art Club. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. Frank Laymon of Cheyenne.

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